

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

CONTENTS FOR FEBRUARY, 1923

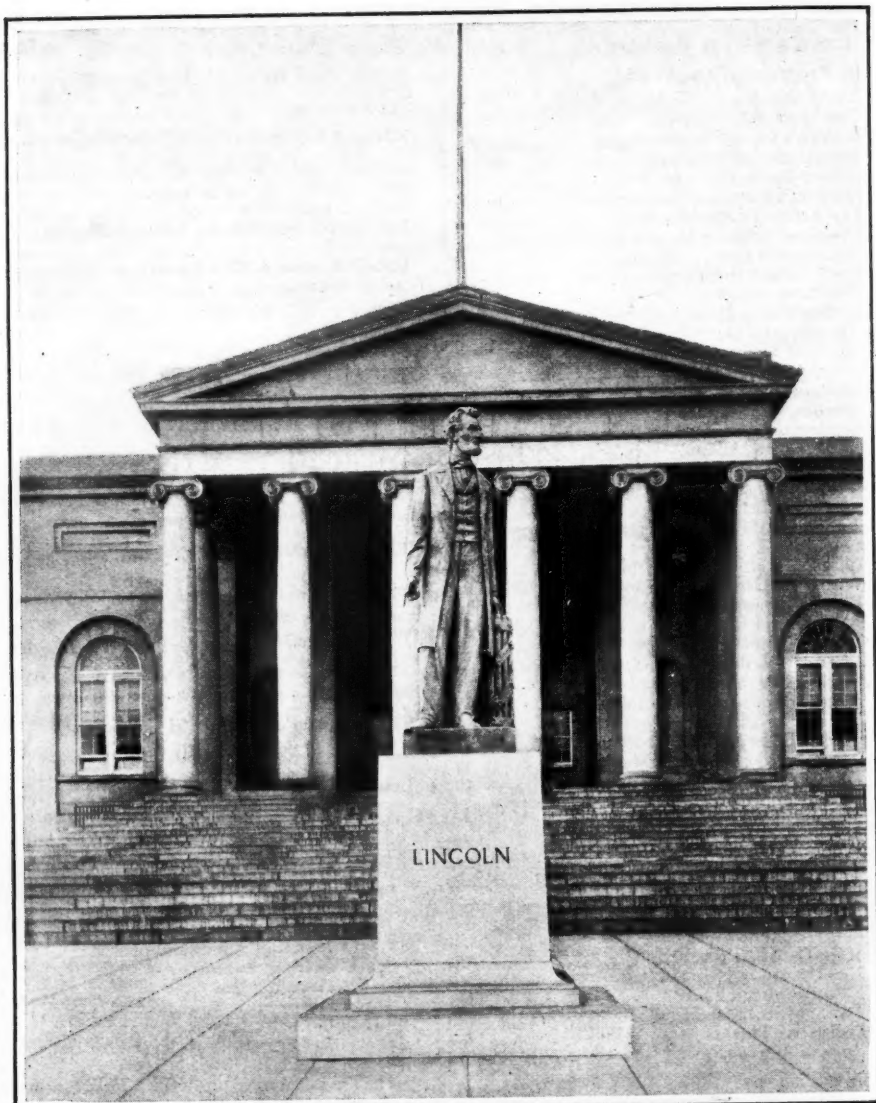
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**STATUE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN FRONT OF THE RESTORED DISTRICT
OF COLUMBIA COURTHOUSE IN THE CITY OF WASHINGTON**

(This early statue, the work of Lot Flannery, a self-taught sculptor, has been placed once more on its original site, and is to be re-dedicated, pursuant to a resolution of Congress, on February 12, Lincoln's Birthday)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 2

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Uncle Sam
Waves No
Magic Wand*

The discords of Europe have been painful to contemplate, not merely for ten years past, but for many generations. Peace abroad is America's concern, also; but harmony cannot be imposed from without. There are certain people, roughly divisible into several classes by reason of their different aims or conceptions, who have been preaching the doctrine that Uncle Sam could wave a magic wand, with the result of allaying European turmoils. Some of these advocates have a noble vision of world order, and sincerely believe that the United States could induce concord in Europe by the mere formality of joining the existing League of Nations. It happens that the United States represents now, as in the past, the foremost influence for good will among nations. America has always urged the substitution of laws and courts, and solutions along ethical lines, for diplomatic intrigue or for military force. This could hardly be otherwise in any case, because of our origins and history. It is therefore chiefly a technical point whether or not our Government is represented officially in the present League of Nations. We are actually seeking to cooperate every day in the year with the rest of the world, for the promotion of peace and justice.

*The Motive
of "Markets"*

There are some men who are thinking and talking in terms of European markets for American goods. And still others there are who, from an analogous standpoint, happen to be concerned about American markets for European goods. The ordinary reader of newspapers might well infer that, from the various proposals of financiers and economists, Mr. Harding with the support of

Cabinet and of Congress ought to select some particular panacea that would restore international markets and trade. As a matter of fact, this agitated self-consciousness about America in its relations with Europe seems in the main to be a matter of auto-suggestion. It is of course stimulated in part by agents here of foreign interests. But the so-called "propaganda" is not important. For the most part, the American eagerness to plunge into Europe's affairs is the joint expression of American kindness and American ignorance of facts, although a calculated interest in commerce and finance plays its part, as is natural and not improper.

*Europe's
View of
America*

With our forty-eight States living so agreeably together, and dealing upon the whole so practically with their own affairs, we have been growingly impatient of disorder elsewhere. We have felt the impulse to show other countries how to live happily at home under the principle of "self-determination," and how to get on with neighbors in "a world made safe for democracy." The fiction is broadcast in Europe, as elsewhere, that Americans are mostly prosperous and absurdly rich. The Europeans look upon Uncle Sam with a certain amused contempt, as upon a social inferior; but they think, nevertheless, that it is quite permissible to take Uncle Sam's money to help support their finer civilization. Until very lately, the United States was enormously in debt, and worked hard to pay interest and dividends to European investors. It was Europe then that was rich; and America was poor but hopeful and independent. We are now improving somewhat the average character of our housing; but until recently

the people of European cities and villages were far more substantially housed than those of this country. Facilities and conveniences of many kinds were more advanced and better diffused abroad than here, until a short time ago. The European countries have from time to time been glad to export the dregs of their population to the United States; but they have regarded their own standards of civilization, both intellectual and material, as decidedly higher than ours.

*Self-
reliance
Also Abroad*

The great service that America has rendered to the world in the past has come about through the successful attention we have given to our own business, and through our growth in power as a democratic country of universal good-will. The European countries have managed their own affairs, for better or for worse, without seeking advice elsewhere; and they will undoubtedly continue to rely mainly upon themselves, while, for our part, we should be sadly betrayed by false and shallow leaders if we failed in a turbulent world to maintain ourselves vigilantly, in strength and independence. Last month there was much condemnation of the drastic steps that France has taken to give effect to some of the economic agreements of the peace treaty. One-half of the censure has been directed against the United States Government for having failed to do one thing or another, while the other half has

been visited upon the government and people of France, for proceeding to act upon their own responsibility. Uncle Sam is not blameworthy, and will not permit unjust censure to disturb his equanimity. As for France, she has acted in the light of her best judgment, and those who have joined the loud chorus of blame have not made it sufficiently clear what other course could have been pursued under existing circumstances.

*France Makes
Her Own
Decisions*

The important thing to remember is that France has found herself so placed that she must make her own decisions and act upon her own best judgment. England, in failing to take the French view, was in turn acting from the British standpoint, adhering to a conviction well supported in Great Britain to the effect that the French solution was not in accordance with British interests. It was not requested by France, or Great Britain, or Italy, that the United States should intervene with advice, although it was known that our government would have made suggestions if invited. There are from time to time matters profoundly affecting the welfare of the Western Hemisphere that we think it necessary to decide without referring them to Europe for judgment or for advice. In like manner, France now proceeds as seems to her best. Belgium and Italy support French policy.

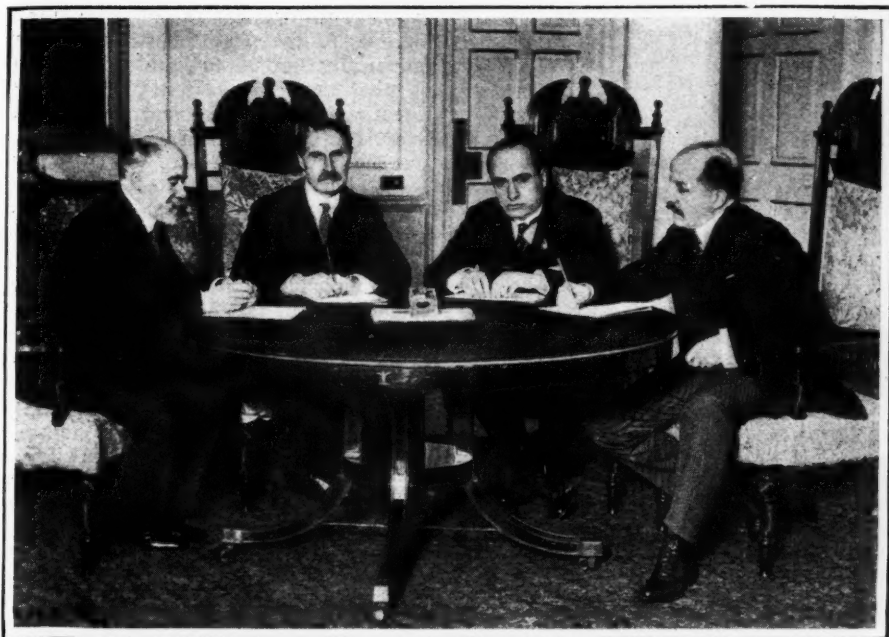
*We Faced Our
Own Historic
Crisis*

If we had thought it best to defer to the collective opinion of Europe just one hundred years ago, we should have encountered the Holy Alliance and accepted Europe's view that it was best to restore Mexico and South America to European control under mandatory arrangements. If we had taken Europe's advice at the most critical moment in our history, our Confederate States would have been set up as an independent sovereignty on the economic bedrock of negro slavery, with a turbulent and dangerous future lying before them. Following this first tragic instance of American disruption, there would have been further divisions accompanied by wars. The development of Canada would have been entirely different, with French and English at variance. By this time—almost sixty-two years after the inauguration of Lincoln—there would probably have been half a dozen, or even more, separate countries between the Rio



A DIPLOMATIC DIVORCE

(Referring to the disagreement between the French and British Governments on Reparations policy, from a cartoon by Rollin Kirby, in the New York World)



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THE FOUR PREMIERS AT THE CONFERENCE WHICH ENDED IN DISAGREEMENT AND WHICH LED TO THE FRENCH DECISION TO OCCUPY ADDITIONAL GERMAN TERRITORY

(Left to right are, Premier Poincaré of France, Premier Bonar Law of England, Premier Benito Mussolini of Italy, and Premier Theunis of Belgium)

Grande and the Canadian border, with a decided tendency to reproduce some of the economic and racial differences that are persistent in Europe.

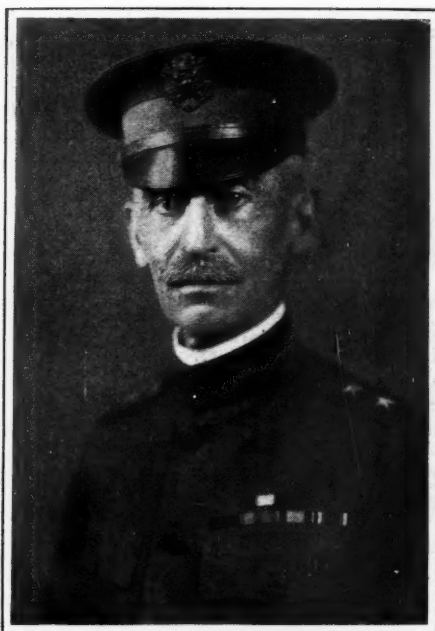
***Our Action
Twenty-five
Years Ago***

To sum it up, we have shaped our own history upon our own determinations, with results that are comparatively satisfactory. Just twenty-five years ago we were profoundly agitated over the deadlocked situation in Cuba after three years of a devastating struggle for independence. We decided to intervene with force, while Europe rather menacingly advised us to keep hands off. Our decision in 1898 has resulted in various historic movements that would appear to have been beneficial, in the sense of promoting the general peace. Congress last month voted to dignify further our relations with Cuba by advancing our diplomatic office at Havana from a legation to an embassy. It was definitely stated that General Crowder, who has spent much time in Cuba as an adviser in governmental affairs, would be named as our first Ambassador. There has been more advancement

in the West Indies, since our neighborly rescue of Cuba, our acquisition of Porto Rico, and our assistance in San Domingo and Haiti,*than there was in a full century before our decisions of twenty-five years ago.

***Progress Under
the Monroe
Doctrine***

Our construction and control of the Panama Canal followed as one of the results of the decision we made twenty-five years ago to dictate Cuban independence and to guide Cuba's future. This year we celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the Monroe Doctrine, and join the other American republics in a Pan-American Conference at the capital of Chile. Thomas Jefferson had a great vision of harmony and accord throughout the Western Hemisphere, and he imparted it to James Monroe. John Quincy Adams, as Secretary of State, and afterwards as President, lent his trained ability to the promotion of Pan-Americanism, and Henry Clay became its enthusiastic apostle. In later times James G. Blaine led in the advocacy of close economic relations between North and South America through reciprocity agreements. President



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MAJOR-GENERAL ENOCH H. CROWDER

(Who is expected to appear in civilian attire in the near future as the first American Ambassador to Cuba)

Cleveland and Secretary Olney asserted America's determination to uphold South American rights as against European force, and President Roosevelt in turn followed President Cleveland at a critical moment in securing arbitration and preventing European naval expeditions. These things are landmarks in American history, and ought to be kept before the attention of students and citizens.

*Canada
As a Link*

Thus the United States has been steadily playing the leading part in shaping the system of peace and order throughout the Western Hemisphere. Canada, without any breach with the mother country, has now given up the colonial status. The Canadians realize that theirs is as truly a North American country as is the United States. It begins to be plain to politicians, as it has long been clear enough to students of political history, that civilized countries must be linked together cooperatively and must cease to think of themselves in terms of competition. Thus Canada is to be associated with the rest of the Western Hemisphere, and should at once take a seat at the conference table

in the Pan-American Building at Washington. At the same time, Canada's geographical position is favorable beyond that of other countries, so that Canada is destined to unite and harmonize, rather than to divide, the interests of Great Britain and the United States.

*Uncle Sam
at Honolulu
and Manila*

Though the rôle of the United States in the Pacific has been less conspicuous than its political and moral activities in our own hemisphere, and in the Atlantic, it is evident that we have pursued policies that are shaping the course of affairs far beyond the Golden Gate. Mr. Riley Allen, of Honolulu, shows our readers in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS how hopefully the commercial interests of the Pacific are advancing under the better prospects following the Washington disarmament conference. Under the influence of our firm and friendly policy, Japan has now retired from Shantung, and there seems some prospect that China itself may soon be re-united under the Peking government. General Wood remains at Manila, sacrificing his opportunity to take the headship of a great university here at home. The motives that prompt him in this decision are to be discovered in his recent message to the Philippine legislature. He is giving the very best wisdom, derived from long experience, to the leadership of the Filipino people in their public affairs. His attitude towards the people is generous and sympathetic, and he has made their welfare the object of his devotion. He is working for Philippine progress not so much through the power of his office as through the thoroughness of his knowledge and the confidence that the legislature and people have in his wisdom and his fairness.

*Overtures
to Japan*

The agreements of the Washington conference in acceptance of the proposals of President Harding and Secretary Hughes were based upon the deliberate renunciation of a naval predominance that was already in sight and that we could have attained with ease. Some Americans are still so distrustful of Japan that they regard our policy as quixotic. But confidence and good will on one side may inspire like sentiments on the other. Japan and the United States have lately seen in the wreckage of Central Europe how disastrous is unchecked

rivalry between great powers having control of modern instruments of war. We have extended the hand of friendship, and Japan has taken it. We agreed not to create impregnable fortresses on Pacific Islands under our control. We are fully aware that America will never go to war with England or France. Nobody forecasts disagreements that the peoples of these countries would decline to adjust by peaceful methods. In like manner, we have made it clear that what we wish and expect in the Far East is peace and friendship between the United States and Japan. There may be misunderstandings in the future as in the past; but we believe that the Japanese will continue to trust American friendship, and will stand with us in keeping the peace throughout "the regions of the Pacific."

*Europe Has to
Make Its Own
Choices*

When the American Government and people, therefore, are reproached, whether by foreigners or by our own citizens, for having failed to harmonize European conditions from the Channel to the Dardanelles, it is well to remember that we have been quite steadily at work using our influence for peace and order in one direction and in another. As for transatlantic affairs, we have made sacrifices not even approached by any other nation in the history of the world, in order to end the most disastrous of wars and to give Europe a chance to start afresh. It is true that we ought to have reached agreement upon definite peace programs before we threw our resources of men and materials into the combat. But this does not relieve Europe of its own responsibility. It can have peace and prosperity when it is willing to pay the price in terms of mutual concession and helpfulness.

*The Lesson
of Our Early
Troubles*

It was not easy for us to bring our own States together into the federal Union after the Revolutionary War. There were rival claims to great areas of valuable western lands; there were immense volumes of irredeemable currency; and there were separate—and disproportionate—war debts. Wise leadership secured concessions, and order slowly evolved out of chaos, but only after a hard and stormy experience of a good many years. Our association of colonies was too feeble to be effective until finally we adopted the Constitution and installed



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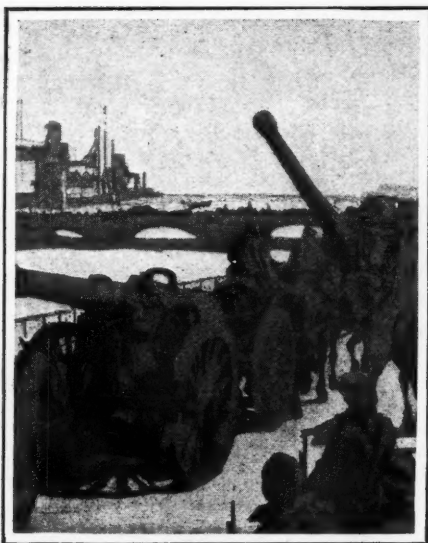
MAJOR-GENERAL LEONARD WOOD

(Who remains at his civilian post as Governor-General of the Philippines)

George Washington as President, fourteen years after peace had been made and our independence acknowledged. It is true that our affairs were small and obscure when compared with those of the nations of present-day Europe. But some of the principles involved are the same. Strife and discord must give way to agreements and coöperation. The willingness to live in neighborly accord must only too frequently be acquired through the discipline of suffering and hard necessity.

*The Lost
Momentum
of 1918*

It is plain enough that at the very moment of the armistice the whole world ought to have coöperated to restore devastated districts. Millions of Germans should have given willing labor to repair damages under international direction. Plans should have been formed for diverting the tremendous energies that war had awakened into the pursuits of peace on a greater scale than ever before. There was a momentum in the autumn of 1918 that should have been conserved and applied to restoration. Domestic war debts should have been disposed of, and international debts for the most part promptly cancelled. Everybody believed



PEACE ON EARTH, AND JOY TO THE FRENCH!

From *Simplicissimus* (Munich, Germany)

at the close of the war that the world was about to enter upon a period not only of peace and safety but also of expanded and glorious prosperity and civilization. But European history has pursued a different course. The vigor of war effort has been followed by reaction and economic paralysis. Europe is in a mood of extreme fatigue and discouragement. Perhaps these present days of reaction and disheartenment were inevitable, in view of the antecedent forces that were guiding the movements of contemporary history.

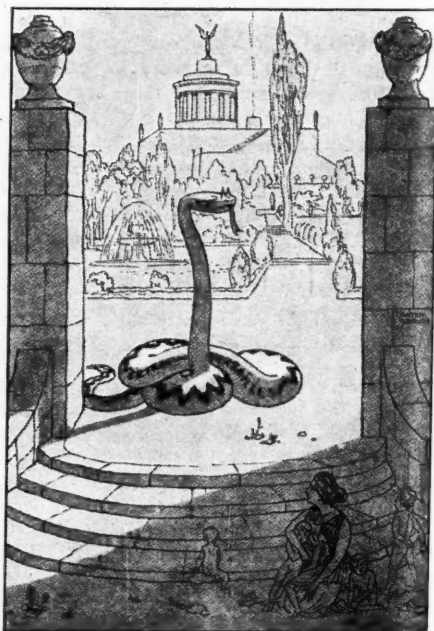
Europe Will Recover

It does not in the least follow, however, that Europe will go from bad to worse, and find no early means of recovery. In every country, by virtue of endurance and industry, the peoples will hold on to what they have and slowly but steadily move forward. The necessities growing out of modern industry, with its great-scale production, will force open again the blocked channels of world trade. Things will not be set right by the acceptance of any single formula. Improvement must come by degrees and through hard experience. Thus most of the reasoning about the movement of French military forces into Germany's great manufacturing district of the Ruhr Basin can have no particular value. After the terrible shock of the long war to expel German

armies from France, it is not to be expected that the French people should be much impressed by arguments made in various quarters to show how a quick restoration of Germany's industry, shipping, and commerce would help the world's trade. Mr. Simonds shows our readers the French situation.

France Provides an Object Lesson

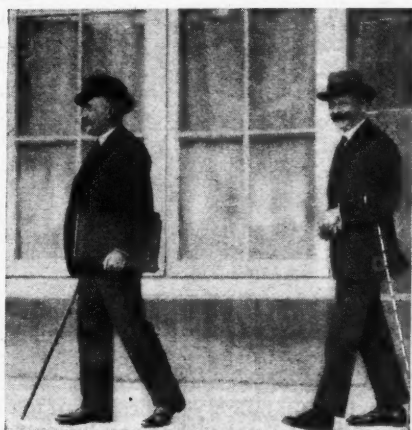
Nations must either act on their own decisions, or there must be a League of Nations so constructed that it can hold the issues of war and peace in its own firm hands. The existing League of Nations has no such character. The numerous conferences that have been held in Europe since the armistice have had a certain value because discussion at short range is useful in helping to give birth to that new spirit of coöperation that must ultimately bring the European nations together. But conferences have failed to accomplish results, and issues between France and Germany have remained acute. France, having resisted brutal invasion in a war which France did not provoke, must decide for herself just when she can afford to disarm. Having been in occupation of German territory on



THE OLD STORY

(Until the snake is slain the people of Europe cannot enter into the Paradise of Peace.)

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)



FRENCH MILITARISM!

Marshal Foch and General Weygand in Paris



GERMAN PEACE SPIRIT!

General Hindenburg in Munich

(The two pictures shown above are greatly reduced from a large card recently circulated in France showing them side by side and declaring that they were taken on the same day of August, 1922. The intention was to show that Germany still looks to her old military leaders, while France is peaceful and civilian)

the Rhine since the armistice, it has been for France to judge, on grounds of her own, how much further to extend her occupation. Premier Bonar Law and the British Government see this clearly, and have stated the facts with a courtesy that is fully acknowledged by Premier Poincaré and the French Ministry. The French action will perhaps prove a needful object-lesson to Europe. We should observe rather than criticise.

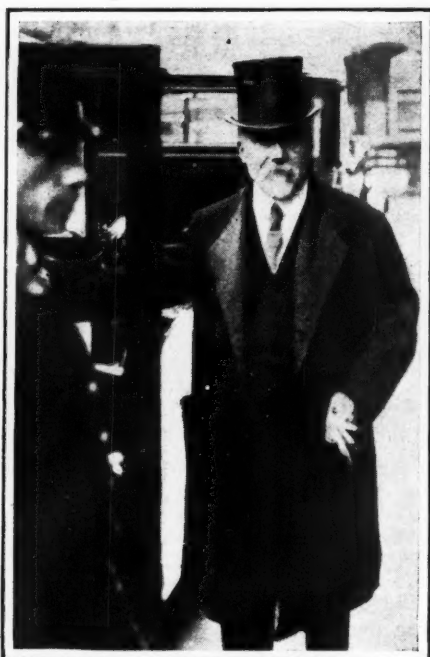
*Inaction Was
No Longer
Possible*

When the United States Senate voted last month in favor of the prompt withdrawal of the very small contingent of American troops remaining at Coblenz—somewhat more than a thousand men, under General Allen—the resolution carefully stated that no criticism of French policy was implied. For a long time past the American people in general have seen no reason for keeping American troops in Europe. Nearly all had been brought home. Repeated rumors had emanated from Washington during the past year or two that we were about to withdraw the small army that lingered on in deference to European wishes. The existing situation could not have continued a great while longer. France was maintaining her forces, and could not demobilize until there had been some scene-shifting on a great scale. Sooner or later, armies act. They cannot wait indefinitely. Mr. Simonds states the case for our readers in this issue

with clearness and force. There could have been agreement upon a reduction of the total indemnity to be paid by Germany. But, if a so-called "moratorium" of four years was to be granted, during which Germany would not have to pay anything, France asserted that there were risks in delay that must not be ignored.

*Unac-
cepted
Proposals*

France is not ready to tear up all the peace agreements of four years ago until something tangible has been provided as a substitute. Mr. Bonar Law's proposals did not find any support in France, because no guarantees were offered for the control of the situation in case of Germany's future failure to pay instalments of the reduced total. The German proposal for a thirty years' peace agreement was received with the utmost skepticism by the French Government. The hint given by Secretary Hughes that a commission of financiers should restudy the reparations question, with Americans included in the membership, had its obvious merits; but it did not reach to the heart of the immediate crisis. Mr. Hughes, in an address at New Haven, on December 29, before the American Historical Association, expressed the view that the reparations question might advantageously be reconsidered. He did not intend that suggestion as answering the French demand for guarantees. The proposals of Secretary Hughes



M. RAYMOND POINCARÉ, FRENCH PREMIER

(French public opinion wholly sustains the firm policy of the Poincaré Ministry in its military movement into the busy district of coal mines, steel mills, and industrial cities near the Ruhr River, which empties into the Rhine some miles north of Cologne)

are not rendered obsolete by the French occupation of Essen, the great center of the Krupp works. On the contrary, all such proposals as that of Mr. Hughes would seem to gather the more urgency and the greater timeliness from the steps taken by France. Meanwhile, though naturally the Germans have protested, it is by no means possible to declare with certainty that France and Germany may not be brought closer to a basis of understanding by this French action. The situation is dangerous but not hopeless.

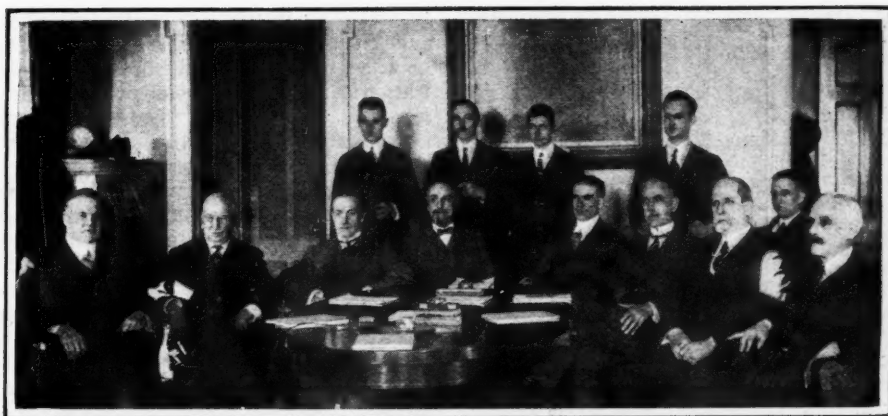
*Anglo-French
Affairs*

The French had studied the alternatives from every standpoint, and have been acting deliberately. They cannot be entirely controlled by British views, though they hold to the entente in form if not in fact. It may be well to wait and see what will happen in the course of the next few weeks or months before going on record with unqualified opinions. Frenchmen and Germans understand each other better than Englishmen and Americans understand either of those great

Continental nations. The Italians and Belgians see justice in the French cause. They also are close to the facts, and their views are entitled to respect. If Western and Central Europe could reach some basis of adjustment without advice from America or England, it would perhaps be best in the long run. As for international debts, they should be treated upon their merits in the light of facts. The English and French were fighting as Allies against Germany in the war, which was close at hand for both of them and which subjected both to great peril. If England furnished more money, relatively, the French furnished more men and suffered far more damage. If the French should present a bill to England for military services equal to the nominal debt owed to England by France, it might be difficult for an impartial judge to say that one claim was more valid than the other. Anglo-French adjustments have nothing whatever to do either with German reparations on the one hand or with debts to America on the other hand.

*America
and the
Debts*

As for America, this country went to the relief of both France and England in the time of their greatest danger. This country had grievances, but was not in danger. We rolled up an immense public debt in equipping ourselves for war service, and in building ships with which to help Western Europe meet the submarine menace. In addition to all this, we lent large sums of money to these European countries, besides giving them the benefit of low prices for commodities, as fixed by our war authorities at Washington. The United States borrowed the money from investors, and the American taxpayer has been paying the interest for several years without complaint. England has now paid interest equal to the amount accruing during a fraction of one year. If loans raised from foreign investors were not regarded as having a more obligatory character than domestic loans, there could be no such thing in the future as credit between nations. A solvent government would naturally meet its foreign loans first and its domestic loans afterwards. The English are clear-headed enough to understand the facts, and the Debt-funding Commission under the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Right Hon. Stanley Baldwin, has made it clear that England will pay back what she has borrowed.



© Harris & Ewing

THE OPENING MEETING OF THE BRITISH DEBT COMMISSION WITH THE AMERICAN DEBT REFUNDING COMMISSION, JANUARY 12, AT WASHINGTON

(The eight men sitting in the front row, left to right, are: Secretary Hoover, Congressman Burton, Mr. Stanley Baldwin [British Chancellor of the Exchequer], Mr. Norman [head of the Bank of England], Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Eliot Wadsworth, Senator Reed Smoot, Secretary Hughes, and Secretary Mellon. The other five men in the picture are present as secretaries or assistants)

***A Future
Financial
Adjustment***

It is not that Americans are exacting. But if the American taxpayer is to be called upon for vast sums by levies at Washington, it is his right to expend those sums through his representatives for such objects, international or otherwise, as he may specify. This is so obvious that to discuss it at all would seem to cast a slur upon average intelligence. The British, on the other hand, having declared that they would face their obligations unflinchingly, found that they had the ample support of American public opinion in their desire to discuss terms of payment. It was obvious that funding of loans to France and other continental countries would have to wait for great improvement in continental conditions. The time may come when some large scheme of financial reconstruction may serve to consolidate various obligations, including portions of the debts owed to the United States. But no such project has been formulated. It would call for help from all the neutral countries, and would require a far greater unity of spirit and purpose in Europe than exists today.

***Refunding
Britain's
Debt***

Our readers may find it convenient to have a restatement of the facts regarding the British debt to the United States. This amounts to about \$4,500,000,000, and has been carried so far in the form of notes payable on demand. The debt originated dur-

ing the war in the purchase by Great Britain of munitions and miscellaneous supplies in the United States, our Government buying these from the manufacturers, while raising funds to purchase them through the issue of Liberty bonds, bearing $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. interest, and then turning the goods over to Great Britain in return for her demand notes. Altogether there were about \$7,000,000,000 of such purchases after we came into the war, but Great Britain paid for \$3,000,000,000 of these, leaving \$4,000,000,000, assignable to that period, to be supplied on credit. As it is obvious that such a sum cannot be paid by Great Britain, or any other country, on demand, the only orderly way to handle the situation is to fund the debt, making it payable after some term of years with a fair annual interest rate. With this in view, Congress provided last year for a commission to settle the matter. The President appointed as members Secretaries Mellon, Hughes, and Hoover, together with Senator Smoot of Utah and Representative Burton of Ohio. Congress did not give this commission such scope of power as the Administration asked. It was prescribed in the debt-funding legislation that the principal of the debt must be paid within twenty-five years—by 1947—and that the rate of interest should not be less than $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., that being the rate which this Government is obliged to pay to investors on the Liberty bonds which floated the original transaction.

*The
British
View*

At a luncheon given by Secretary Mellon on January 8, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, head of the British Commission, made a straightforward statement of his country's attitude toward this obligation. He announced, as have other Englishmen of note, that Great Britain could and would pay the debt, with interest, to the last dollar, and he was urgent in protest against any thought that his mission was "to ask for favors or to impose on generosity." The aim was to effect a fair business settlement which would disturb as little as possible the trade relations of the two countries in a situation where the debt can obviously not be paid with gold, nor in kind with goods shipped to us across the Atlantic. Mr. Baldwin pointed out that the payment of these huge sums would involve further heavy British taxes and that these are already more onerous than those of any other country in the world, amounting now, four years after the end of the war, to more than \$100 per capita. Secretary Mellon expressed himself as confident that an adjustment of the matter would be promptly and satisfactorily reached, but up to the middle of January no definite proposal had been made public. American discussions of the terms assumed that the British negotiators had in mind $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. as the maximum interest they could pay, and that they wanted an extension of the time for returning the principal from 25 to 50 years. Any change whatsoever from the terms specified by Congress obviously required a recommendation to the President from our Debt Funding Commission, the President's approval, and new action by Congress based on his suggestion.

*The Visit of
M. Coué and its
Popular Appeal*

If one were judging by relative amounts of space accorded in the newspapers, and by boldness of headlines, the visit of that genial and optimistic Frenchman, M. Coué, to the United States might seem to compete fairly for news importance with the occupation of the industrial cities of the Ruhr Valley by the French army. The neurologists of New York say that they like Brother Coué personally, but do not think he is a well-read man of science. It would be sheer ignorance and folly to urge auto-suggestion as taking the place of science. We are owing the best prospects of the human race to our scien-

tific workers in fields of medical research, and to the application of new medical knowledge through public-health administration to the conditions of populous communities. M. Coué's methods are, indeed, no substitute for the work of the medical profession, any more than training everybody in the arts of swimming and running would amount to a substitute for the work of engineers in the building of bridges and the supplying of transit facilities. Habitual states of mind are what Couéism has to deal with. To live successfully in the complicated world of the Twentieth Century requires self-control and a trained will-power. How to apply one's energy and increase the vital force for personal efficiency is worth considering.

*Confidence
in Public
Affairs*

But these Coué ideas may also be applied to conditions that are not merely private and personal. Many people need to import Couéism into their attitude toward public affairs. The light-hearted little gentleman from Nancy is telling us how to lessen the frictions and irritations that interfere with sound digestion and that make us neuro-pathic and unhappy. The chief thing that gave the Washington Conference its note of success from the start was the spirit of confidence shown in the opening days by Mr. Harding and Mr. Hughes, as they stood up before the surprised delegates and accompanied their proposals with auto-suggestive assurances that the world was "getting better and better every day in every way." This hopeful mood will not do everything. The political and financial and military doctors will still have their professional duties to perform, and these will be arduous and essential. But of course in public matters, even as in the private sphere, there are morbid moods and there are normal ones, and it is valuable to adopt the wholesome viewpoint.

*Germany's
Mood Still
Morbid*

It would look like a fairly reasonable conclusion from all the facts to suggest that it is the German mood that is morbid rather than the French. Germany keeps discussing the origins of the war, and tries to make herself and other people believe that she was not responsible for a struggle that has wrecked Europe and reduced the world to semi-poverty. But everybody at least knows that if Germany had lifted a finger

to prevent the war it could not possibly have happened. Certainly France did not wish the war, however much she might have hoped at some time to win back the lost provinces. Germany alone, of all the powers that fought, was really bellicose, and planning for war profits. It is now requisite that Germany should accept in good faith two cardinal ideas: (1) that she owes a lot of money and must pay it honorably or abandon forever the hope of regaining the respect and confidence of the world; and (2) that she can have no desirable future based upon subtle schemes to restore her lost military domination. Until Germany can see these two ideas clearly, and can embrace them as the principal doctrines in a new national religion, so to speak, the prospects for Europe will be none too bright. When Germany opens her mind to accept the truth that her leaders and teachers actually precipitated the war, and that her war debt is one of honor rather than one that is forced upon her, some surprising things will happen.

When Germany Accepts Sane Views Hands of fellowship will be extended across the Rhine and across wide seas, when Germany sees the truth and accepts the way of salvation with a chastened spirit. France will be delighted to be a good neighbor to a nation that has had a redeeming vision, and has grasped the fundamentals of political common-sense. We are told by those who are close to the currents of German thought and utterance that the whole nation is looking forward to its day of better luck on the battlefields of a deferred Armageddon. But there are doubtless many in Germany who desire to do what is honest and right. It would be foolish to try to have them believe that Germany's had been the only empire-grabbing and militaristic government. But Germany held the key position, and she ordained the war in 1914. She must now join the civilized world in putting down militarism and empire-grabbing. But first she must regain her lost influence by setting a great example of repairing wrongs. It would, of course, be desirable to have a new economic conference, and to reconstruct the reparations terms of the peace treaty of 1919. But reasonable terms will not be withheld from Germany if only the Germans can convince themselves of the inestimable value of a right and sane point of view.



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GENERAL BUAT
(One of the high French officers in charge of the recent movement)



GENERAL DEGOUTTE
(Commanding the French forces that have invaded the Ruhr Basin)

Peace Guaranties must be "Moral" A distinguished Frenchman, M. Albert Thomas, who was Minister of Munitions for two or three years during the war period, and who is now head of the International Labor Bureau that was established by the peace treaty and that has headquarters in Switzerland, has been spending a few weeks in the United States. He has spoken eloquently and sincerely before many groups of thoughtful Americans. He regards the future peace of Europe as resting upon moral considerations, rather than upon alliances and defensive agreements. Friendship must take the place of hate; co-operation must succeed rivalry. Although Socialists constituted part of that small minority in the French parliament that refused to join in the overwhelming vote of confidence that was given to Premier Poincaré as the French troops entered Essen, even the Socialists agree with other Frenchmen as to essentials. They do not admit that France is a Shylock exacting his pound of flesh. France sees that the European war is not really ended until Germany shows the right spirit; and it is for France to "watch on the Rhine." M. Thomas himself is a Socialist, but he knows that the immediate thing is to settle the reparation question, and that a real settlement can only be made when it is plain that Germany no longer seeks to evade, but actually desires to pay.

An Economic Conference, Later but Not Yet An international loan that would lubricate the machinery of Europe's public finance could be floated promptly enough, if



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PRESIDENT HARDING, AS HE APPEARED LAST MONTH WITH AMBASSADOR HARVEY

(Mr. Harvey's return from his post at London to spend some days at Washington was for the purpose of conferring with the President and Secretary of State regarding the general European situation)

Germany could but cease to live in a world of false dreams. Perhaps the closer contact of Frenchmen and Germans, as France accepts responsibility and dares to act, may help in some way to hasten the day of agreements and of coöperation. Meanwhile, it is the business of the American people to be friendly and helpful without being intrusive or meddlesome. There will come a time when this country, as also Japan and South America, may be brought usefully into a conference of all the European nations for the recovery of Europe's public and private business prosperity. But we do well now to bring our handful of soldiers back from Coblenz, and to give our major attention in 1923 to our own domestic problems.

*Value of
Voluntary
Efforts*

This does not mean a neglect of non-official, voluntary means for showing good will and a helpful spirit. Thus we are glad to learn of the progress of the work at Louvain, in Belgium, where Americans are rebuilding the historic library. It is particularly

desirable that such enterprises as the work for devastated France that Miss Anne Morgan has been promoting for several years, and the work on behalf of blinded French and Italian soldiers that Miss Winifred Holt has organized and directed, should have a greatly enlarged financial support. Years ago Miss Holt became identified with the founding and growth of an institution in New York called the "Light House," for the vocational training of the blind. Experience gained in this way was invaluable abroad when soldiers under many flags lost their eyesight in the Great War. Miss Holt (who was recently married to Mr. Rufus Graves Mather) is renewing her efforts to provide funds for an expanding work in Europe that has the grateful recognition of governments and that deserves hearty support. Her recent book, entitled "The Light Which Cannot Fail," not only brings hope and encouragement to those who are blind, but also stimulates desire on the part of its readers to help in so excellent a philanthropy.

*Affairs
At
Washington*

However the fault-finders, and the wiseacres may disparage the Harding Administration, nobody will say that the executive branch of our Government is manned by men who show low spirits or who inspire pessimism. They are handling our financial burdens with a marked degree of skill in cutting the garment according to the cloth they have. The appropriations impose less work upon Congress, now that departments do not compete with one another in making their demands for money. Mr. Mellon seems to be a master in dealing with large problems, and he has surrounded himself with a group of capable men, whose names are not seen in the newspapers so frequently, but who make the Treasury Department a strong organization. The intention of the Administration to avoid calling an extra session of the new Congress will prevail, unless some unforeseen exigency arises. The first necessity is to move the appropriation bills through both houses, and these have been proceeding with astonishing speed, thanks to the budget system.

*Work
of
Congress*

The Rural Credits bill, regarding the details of which we shall have more to say next month, will become a law. The Ship Subsidy bill, which in our opinion ought

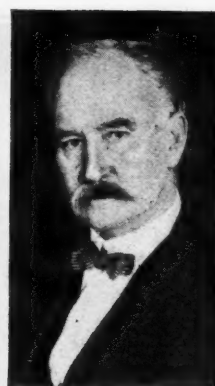
to be passed, was practically abandoned several weeks ago because of Southern and Western opposition seemingly not founded upon clear understanding. Some change in the law providing for funding foreign debts is expected, after negotiations with the visiting British Commission have been carried on. It is quite probable that the constitutional amendment desired by Secretary Mellon, which would subject all public securities to taxation, including those of States and localities, may be voted upon and submitted to the States. It has been a long time since a new Congress was not called in extra session prior to its first regular session in December, thirteen months after its election. By the end of this year we shall know how the new tariff is working, and the country may perhaps have learned something about ships and foreign trade.

*Personal
Notes on the
Cabinet*

The State Department is industrious, and has a variety of business upon its hands at the present time; but it may be said with satisfaction that our international relations are exceptionally free from pressing difficulties. Secretary Hughes is planning to attend the Pan-American Congress in Chile. Secretary Fall will retire from the Department of the Interior on March 4, and will return to the management of his large business interests in New Mexico and the Southwest. It was rumored last month that Postmaster-General Work might be transferred to the Interior Department, and that Senator New, whose term expires on March 4, might enter the Cabinet as Postmaster-General. The attempt to bring impeachment charges against Attorney-General Daugherty fell quite flat, and the Judiciary Committee of the House abandoned the inquiry. It is stated that Mr. Hoover was offered the place that Secretary Fall is to vacate; but in the Department of Commerce there are great opportunities for achievement as regards our economic affairs, and Mr. Hoover prefers to remain at his present post. At the beginning of the year Mr. Hoover made a world-wide review of business conditions that indicated a steady and healthy advancement even in Europe. If the German reparations question could be settled on a basis that was fully accepted as final, it would be possible to proceed with disarmament and with issues in Southeastern Europe.



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HON. HUBERT WORK
(Postmaster-General)



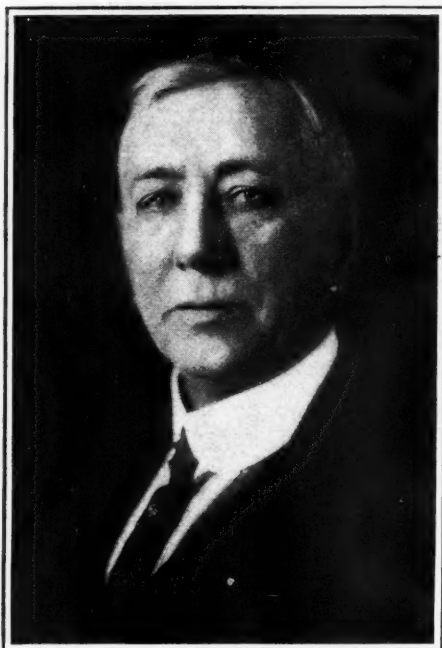
© Paul Thompson
HON. ALBERT B. FALL
(Secretary of the Interior)

*Mr. Hoover's
Broad
Survey*

Looking at countries abroad, particularly in Europe, Mr. Hoover finds that ordinary business conditions are progressing in spite of the chaos in public finance. Many men are under arms; but there is at least less actual fighting than at any time for nearly nine years. Famine and distress have diminished; production has greatly increased. Unemployment is less than at any time since the armistice. Trade among nations is increasing. Here at home, agriculture has been recovering more slowly, but in manufacturing, transportation, and building we are making progress. Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Australia are doing business on levels above the pre-war. In England, unemployment is at least steadily diminishing, although it remains large. These surveys made by Mr. Hoover, with the aid of a remarkable organization in Washington and in foreign countries, are quite invaluable and reflect much credit upon the Harding Administration. Secretary Wallace's services to the country in the Department of Agriculture are fully recognized in all well-informed quarters.

*Federal Reserve
Board Ap-
pointments*

Expected appointments to the Federal Reserve Board have now been made, and the honor of succeeding Mr. W. P. G. Harding as Governor of the board has been conferred upon Hon. D. R. Crissinger, of Marion, Ohio. Mr. Crissinger, who has been a lifelong friend and neighbor of President Harding, was a local banker in Marion and was made Controller of the Currency in 1921. The Controller is *ex-officio* a member



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HON. D. R. CRISSINGER

(Recently Controller of the Currency, now named as head of the Federal Reserve Board)

of the Federal Reserve Board; and consequently Mr. Crissinger's case is that of promotion within the group. The place that Mr. Crissinger leaves is filled by the appointment of Mr. James C. McNary of New Mexico, a banker and business man who is a particular friend of Secretary Fall. It will be remembered that Congress recently amended the Federal Reserve act to make a place on the board for a member who should especially represent the agricultural interests. The farm organizations and the members of the Farm Bloc in Congress have been well pleased by the selection of Mr. Milo D. Campbell of Coldwater, Michigan. Mr. Campbell has been president of the National Milk Producers' Association.

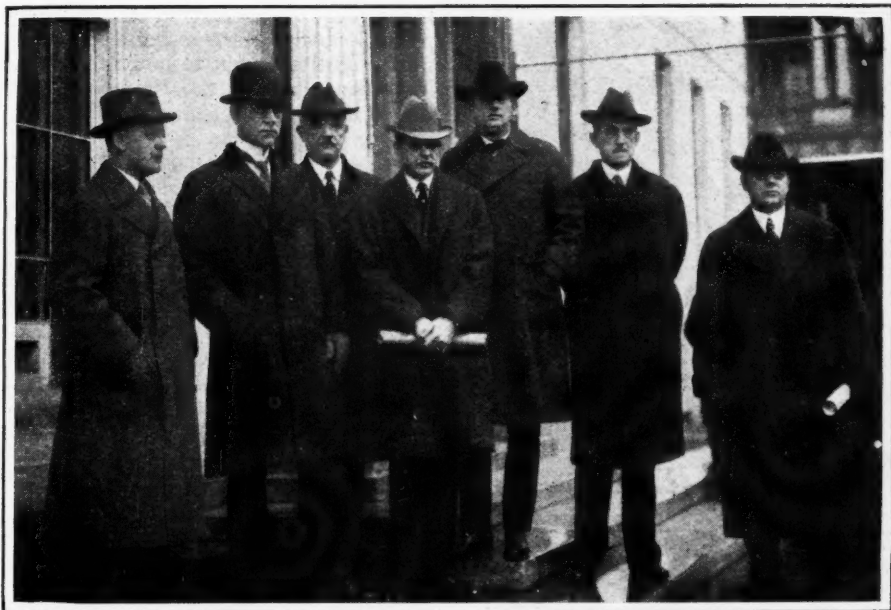
*Improving
the Executive
Machinery*

One of the policies upon which President Harding entered in the opening weeks of his administration with the utmost confidence and enthusiasm was that of reorganizing the business of the Government, regrouping bureaus, consolidating certain functions, and creating a new department of public

welfare (including education and health with other kindred social services). Mr. Walter Brown of Ohio was appointed as the executive officer of a joint committee of Congress to work out the reorganization scheme as a whole. It was known that it would be hard to make changes in the face of the determination of thousands of place-holders not to be reduced in their status, or legislated out of their jobs. This resistance has been more powerful than had been expected even by men of experience. Usually the only way that such things can be accomplished is to begin by deciding that they are not to take effect until some date fixed well in the future. Undoubtedly Mr. Brown has worked with great intelligence, though not with ardent or unanimous support among high officials. The circumstances of his particular job could not justify the slashing methods of Charles G. Dawes in forcing the departments to accept the new budget system. It is to be hoped that President Harding may accomplish a good part of the desired reorganization next year. An illustration of difficulties to be met has been furnished by the controversy about the Forestry Bureau. This is now in the Agricultural Department; but Secretary Fall has regarded it as belonging properly with Public Lands in the Interior Department. There were fairly good arguments on both sides; but the point of view of the Agricultural Department regarding forestry maintenance and future development would seem to us to justify the opinion of the Conservationists who have supported Secretary Wallace.

*Reorganizing
State
Governments*

It is not alone at Washington that there are current discussions dealing with the reorganization of the mechanism of executive government. Elsewhere in this number we are publishing an article on the plans and programs of the newly elected Governors of the six New England States, together with New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. In later numbers, successive articles will make similar comment upon the policies of Governors in other sections of the country. In New York, Governor Al Smith leads off with a demand for the complete reorganization of the State government. In Pennsylvania, Governor Pinchot points out a similar need and proposes a careful study of the problem. Similar movements are on foot in various States, East and West. We are



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**MEMBERS OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON REORGANIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
AT WASHINGTON**

(Left to right, are: Senator James J. Wadsworth of New York, Senator Reed Smoot of Utah, Representative J. W. Webster of Washington, Representative H. W. Temple of Pennsylvania, Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi, Representative R. Walton Moore of Virginia, and Walter F. Brown, chairman)

publishing elsewhere Mr. Pinchot's brief but stirring appeal to Pennsylvania in his inaugural address of January 16. A public utterance so courageous and so straightforward ought to be read in every part of the United States. The tendency of the States in general seems to be toward a larger appreciation of what they can do on their own initiative for their citizens; and as a rule they are selecting men of marked ability. A number of the retiring Governors, like Miller of New York, Sproul of Pennsylvania, and Allen of Kansas, are public men of the first rank.

**Governor Parker
Fights "Invisible
Government."**

Governor Parker of Louisiana has often in times past shown himself to be a man of independence and courage. But just now these qualities have been more than ever apparent, as he has taken the lead in trying to rid his State of the terrifying influence of secret orders that set themselves above the law, and attempt to regulate the private as well as the public affairs of communities. The exposure of Ku Klux Klan methods in a single Louisiana county must embolden

good citizens to resist and expose such methods not only in other counties of Louisiana but also in several other States. There are times when the newspapers give far too much space to sensational cases in the law courts, but it can hardly be said that the open grand jury inquiry in Morehouse Parish, Louisiana, conducted by Attorney-General Coco under orders of Governor Parker, has not justified the extraordinary fullness of the press reports as published throughout the country.

*Publicity
that is
Justified*

For this is not simply an exposure of the misguided and evil conduct of certain individuals or groups in one or two Louisiana neighborhoods. It is, rather, the unveiling of a danger to which thousands of neighborhoods in many States have been subjected by the rapid growth of an oath-bound secret order setting up an "invisible government" superior to the laws of the land, endangering the rights of citizens who do not choose to subject themselves to the authority of headstrong men imagining themselves fit to dictate and to rule. There



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GOVERNOR AL SMITH (left) AND HIS RETIRING PREDECESSOR, GOVERNOR MILLER, AT ALBANY ON INAUGURATION DAY, JANUARY 1

should be no confusing the nation-wide publicity that is proper in this Louisiana case with the wholly morbid and improper attention given by newspapers to the details of ordinary criminal trials. It is not a normal and healthy appetite for news or for information that is stimulated by the press in its undue attention to certain aspects of divorce trials and murder cases. Without naming two or three recent cases, it might fairly be said that they were tried by the newspapers rather than by the courts.

The Study of Economics We have already remarked that the people of the United States may well devote the year 1923 to a concentrated attention to their own interests and affairs. It must be assumed that the American public has fairly good intentions. But we are in some danger from a lack of the right kind of education. For our stability and for our prosperity we need a much more thorough knowledge, widely diffused, of the principles of economic science as applied in legislation and as related to industry. We suffered great injury as a nation in 1922 from useless strikes inspired by unsound principles. A San Francisco article in this number of THE REVIEW points to better methods in the building trades. Our railroad system is in danger through the failure of

the public to understand the economic principles underlying transportation. Business executives ought to be better trained in economic science, and the wage earners should be helped to think correctly.

A Subject for High School Students

Various movements are on foot to extend the popular knowledge of economics. An instance of this is furnished by the yearly prizes offered by a business man in Massachusetts, to students in high schools and normal schools, for the best essays upon some assigned subject of an economic character. For the year 1923, the subject is "The Lack of Economic Intelligence." The giver of the prizes is Mr. Alvin T. Simonds, of Fitchburg. He makes a remarkably lucid statement of the actual harm that has come to the United States since the Civil War from economic ignorance. The high schools of New York are now giving one year of economic study in their courses. This subject should be generally recognized in the schools, because



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CHIEF JUSTICE TAFT, WITH HON. PIERCE BUTLER, THE NEW ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT AT WASHINGTON

(The American judiciary is maintained upon so high a level of ability and character that appeal to mob law through oath-bound secret organizations is wholly without excuse)

the great majority of pupils do not pass on to the higher institutions.

*New York's
Canals and the
Railroads*

Apropos of transportation problems, an able correspondent, in a letter to the Editor, after reading the articles on the New York Barge Canals in this magazine last month, comments upon what he regards as the utter folly of a policy that does not allow the railroads to use the canals. We quote from his trenchant letter the following passages:

Years ago it was ruled very unintelligently that the railroads should not use the New York canals. That policy is fundamentally wrong. The railroads not only should not be barred from the barge canal but they should be invited, and urged, and if necessary, compelled, to use it to relieve their overburdened tracks and terminals.

This may not be good politics but I think it is good traffic sense. That the politicians vaguely realize that something is wrong with their proposition is shown in the fact that they have now organized a traffic department to solicit business for New York's wonderful waterways. Being a political department of but one State of our forty-eight, it necessarily will have its offices entirely within this State.

Very little of the real traffic of the Erie Canal originates within the boundaries of this State. Take wheat as a single instance: for the Erie Canal to solicit wheat traffic, it should enter places like Hutchinson, Kansas, Fremont, Nebraska, or Gopher Prairie, Minnesota. In other words, these men should be the local freight agents of the railroads out there, and in a position not merely to quote a rail rate to Buffalo and water rate from there to New York, but to urge the use of the New York Barge Canals as a pathway for this coarse freight. This can come about only when the railroads are properly correlated with the waterways.

*We Must Co-
ordinate Trans-
port Systems*

The general tenor of this letter, as quoted above, is in keeping with views to which we are alluding in a later paragraph regarding the relation of railroads and motor trucks on the public highways. In our opinion, the railroads should be sending as much of their bulk traffic as possible across the Great Lakes and through the canals. They should also be linked up with motorized freighting on the public highways, and with ocean transportation as well. Without giving too much attention to the mistaken policies of the past, we should face the problems of the present and deal with them on their merits. Western investors, or Western States, should by stock purchase acquire control of the railroads that serve their regions. They should unify all methods of commercial transportation,



ALVIN TRACY SIMONDS, OF FITCHBURG, MASSACHUSETTS

(Who is giving prizes of \$1,000 and \$500 to high school pupils for the best essays on the injury resulting from economic ignorance)

making the motor highways feeders for the railroads, and discouraging, as far as possible, the undue expenditure of capital in competitive parallels, where systems should supplement one another and where competition is wasteful and impoverishing. Instead of railing at Wall Street, as is the fashion with Western and Southern politicals, the South and West should buy back financial control of their own traffic facilities, and develop them to meet present-day needs.

*Record-Making
Automobile
Production*

The automobile is continuing its surprises to the world. A dozen times in the last decade most observers, including some very well-informed and wise ones, have come to the conclusion that the saturation point in the consumption of motor cars had been reached. Only a year ago experts in and out of the trade made estimates predicting for the year 1922 an output very much less than that of the record year of 1920, and the opinion that scores of individual manufacturers, if not most of them, must fail or be merged with larger companies, was a

commonplace of conversation. Now that the returns for 1922 are in, however, we find that it has broken all records in the number of cars manufactured and sold. It is probably also true that the aggregate profits of the industry were greater last year than in any previous twelve-months. 2,287,000 passenger cars were produced, about 50 per cent. more than in 1921 and well over the previous record in 1920,—1,883,000. The output of trucks for 1922 was 240,000, as against 154,500 in the previous year. The average retail price of the passenger car was \$770, as compared with \$900 in 1921, and trucks also are becoming cheaper, averaging \$1,050, as compared with \$1,326 in 1921.

*More Than a
"Pleasure
Car"*

The old term of "pleasure car," applied to an automobile designed for passengers, has been discarded. A large part of the work of the world is done by automobiles and much of it could not be done without them. 110,000 American doctors, for instance, use motor cars and our corporations own 600,000. Of the 40,000 motor buses in use, schools use 12,000. What the "flivver" means to the farmer, over and above the Sunday recreation trip for his family, is apparent to everyone who gets on a country road. The farmers of the United States now own 3,300,000 passenger cars and 200,000 trucks. The United States has 90 per cent. of all the motors in the world, 11,500,000 being registered here, of which 10,250,000 are passenger cars. It is estimated that during 1923 no less than 1,800,000 cars will be needed for replacement alone.

*May the Motor
Help the
Railroads?*

These are vast figures, indeed, and when one considers the million and a quarter trucks also operating in the United States and the 1,430,000,000 tons of freight which, it is estimated, they haul every year, the outlook for our other freight carriers on land, the railroads, seems at first glance rather dismal. There are, however, those who see the motor in another light, so far as any deadly competition of motor cars with railroads is concerned. For instance, in a recent address Mr. Elisha Lee, one of the vice-presidents of the Pennsylvania Railroad, gave it as his opinion that the final result of the miraculous growth of motor cars and, more specifically, of the increasing

use of trucks, will be beneficial to the railroads. He believes that motor cars will actually add to the utility and efficiency of the railroads "by rounding out and completing the rail service and relieving the railroads of certain forms of service which are burdensome and costly when performed over fixed tracks, and with the necessarily heavy equipment of steam lines." Mr. Lee calls attention to what all men of vision have noted, that great new inventions enlarge and add to the field of human needs and activities instead of simply encroaching on existing fields. Thus, while in two decades the automobile industry has grown, as it were, by magic, to a point where it, with its allied activities, represents a larger investment of capital than do all the railroads, and employs more hands, the volume of traffic offered the railroads is the greatest ever known; while people have been busy proving that horses would soon be dispensed with, the census shows that there are just as many horses in the United States to-day as in 1900. The telephone has not wiped out the telegraph, as many people predicted it would.

*American
Cars
Abroad*

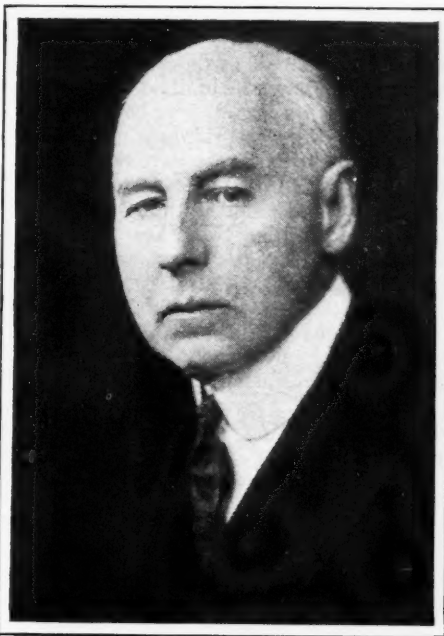
With the whole world outside of the United States using only 10 per cent. of all automobiles, our hustling manufacturers of motors are naturally working to put that ominous saturation point still farther in the future by developing foreign markets. The quantity production methods of American manufacturers enable them in certain classes of the automobile trade easily to undersell any foreign competitors. Curiously enough, it is the Orient which just at present offers the most considerable and inviting field for our automobiles and the trade experts consider Japan as the leader in consumption of motor vehicles and in future possibilities, with China another important outlet, and promising opportunities in the Straits Settlements and the Malay Peninsula. Japan is already using 10,000 motor vehicles, without counting motorcycles, and more than one-third of these have been imported in the last two years. In China it has been proposed to build a motor road on top of the Great Wall. Canton's city wall now furnishes a 28-mile highway for motors. Our manufacturers are already exporting nearly \$124,000,000 worth of motor vehicles and parts to foreign countries.

*A Poor
Railroad
Year*

The railroads came through 1922 with better earnings than in the previous year, but still far below the rate of $5\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. on their capital investment that was prescribed by the Interstate Commerce Commission as a fair return. The final net profit will show not much more than two-thirds as much. The losses, direct and indirect, from the shopmen's and coal miners' strikes were enormous; some statisticians estimate them as high as \$500,000,000. Prices of the commodities the railroads have to buy, including labor, are now advancing again while there is continued and vigorous agitation for a reduction of rates which will probably be translated into action before this year is over. About one hundred and forty bills affecting the railroads have been introduced in Congress, many of them tending to curb the little initiative and responsibility now left to railroad managers and some of them little short of disastrous in their results, provided they were to become law. It is true, fortunately, that scarcely any of them will become law, but the economic wrong thinking and hostile attitude they convey are not conducive to optimism as to the outlook for an intelligent handling of railroad affairs that will enable them to serve the public adequately.

*A Glance
Backward*

In the meantime, the roads are being overwhelmed with the largest volume of traffic ever offered to them, and the beginning of 1923 finds them utterly incapable of handling it with efficiency and despatch. Some of them are still suffering from the shopmen's strike and nearly all of them have inadequate equipment; the car shortage has never before been equaled. This breakdown of the transportation plant is a necessary result of the forces that have been working against railroad prosperity and efficiency for twenty years. It destroys the railroads' chances to make profits out of this great business offered to them, but its worst effect from the standpoint of the nation at large is the hampering of countless businesses that depend on them for carrying their goods. Of these forces that have combined to hamstring our transportation systems, one has been the rise of the prices of materials and supplies which began in the last years of the 19th century, and has continued to the present day, with a tremendous artificial acceleration during the



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**REPRESENTATIVE JAMES A. FREAR OF
WISCONSIN**

(Who has been leader of a movement in Congress to tax surpluses accumulated by large corporations with the motive, it is claimed, of avoiding income tax payments when distributed among shareholders)

war; and the other is government regulation, or at least that part of it, and no inconsiderable part, which has been unintelligent. Rates are now about 60 per cent. above those of 1913; wages have advanced more than 100 per cent., and commodity prices about 55 per cent. During the past 10 years, gross income has increased 75 per cent., but operating expenses have much more than doubled. It is noticeable that the roads running north and south from the Gulf have been able to maintain themselves much more successfully than those going east and west. The latter find themselves in competition with the Panama Canal; the former, while they lose some business in that competition, may gain more, being far enough from the Atlantic Ocean to avoid the rivalry of the lower steamship rates.

*A Year
of Stock
Dividends*

Many laymen have been puzzled by the sudden flood of stock dividends declared by all kinds of corporate businesses last year and more particularly last autumn. The

Wall Street Journal estimates the total of stock dividends for 1922 at close to \$1,500,000,000. Hundreds of different companies took this step, the rate of dividends ranging from less than 1 per cent. to 900 per cent. or more. Nearly two-thirds of the total of these dividends last year were declared by the Standard Oil companies; the Standard Oil of New Jersey contributing \$393,000,000 to the total; the New York company \$150,000,000; Indiana, \$170,000,000; California, \$101,000,000. Two general considerations led corporations to such a step, with both of them operating in some cases and in others only one of the two. Various businesses and among them the most efficient and thrifty concerns in the country, had followed the practice, during a generation perhaps, of paying out in dividends only a small part of their yearly earnings and reinvesting the balance in the plant, or retaining part of it as additional working capital. After many years, these accumulated reinvestments of profits may have amounted to many times the original capital stock issue, which, however, was stated by itself on their balance sheet, the major part of the actual total capital being represented by the surplus thus built up. The threats from Washington as to putting a special tax on surpluses was one impelling reason for declaring stock dividends. The second was that the helpful and widespread distribution of the stock among many holders could not be obtained so readily when each share was quoted at a very high price, which reflected the existence of a great surplus. In other words, it is much easier to obtain general public ownership of the shares of the corporation when they are quoted at 50 or 100, than when they are quoted at 500 or 900.

Legislative Threats

It is difficult to see how there could be a general taxing of surpluses, at as high a rate as has been suggested, 25 per cent., or for that matter, at any appreciable rate. In the first place, as a matter of justice, the yearly profits which have built up these surpluses have already been subjected to the corporation income tax in so far as the incomes were earned since 1913. In the second place, and much more important as an obstacle to any general heavy taxation based on the bookkeeping figure of

surplus, these accumulated earnings have almost invariably been invested in plant and extensions and are, with few exceptions, no longer in liquid form. Thus, a business which had been thriftily investing its profits through a generation in enlargements of the plant and betterments, justifying a surplus of 500 per cent. on its books, might find it absolutely impossible to pay a tax of 25 per cent., or 10 per cent., on its surplus.

Proposals to Tax Stock Dividends

From Washington there have come many threats of taxing these stock dividends, but no clear explanation as to how it can be done either fairly or legally. When a stockholder receives five shares of a concern in exchange for each one he held before, every other holder being treated the same way, none of them is one dollar richer than he was before the exchange. If a new rate of dividends makes the total dividend disbursement greater than it was before the increase in capitalization, these increased payments inevitably pay personal income taxes as they are received by the shareholders. Furthermore, it would seem in the highest degree unwise from the standpoint of industrial development to strain the law in the direction of penalizing thrifty reinvestment of profits in the business that produced them. The late Mr. John Wanamaker is said to have begun his business with a capital of \$2000, its subsequent increase and development being the result of just such reinvestments of profits. Mr. Henry Ford, too, could scarcely have given the world the cheapest and most efficient automobile if he had been debarred from the same course. From the standpoint of business and the community at large, it would seem to be much more valuable to encourage the process that has led to the current epidemic of stock dividends, and to work against the opposite policy, namely, the prompt payment to shareholders of too large a proportion of profits, which has wrecked so many promising businesses on financial rocks. Mr. Ford and the Standard Oil Company have both been following the same practice of enlarging enormously their production of an article essentially useful to the public through the constant reinvestment of current profits in the producing plants.



AMERICAN TROOPS LEAVING THE RHINE

(The last detachment of the American Army of Occupation was ordered home by President Harding on January 10, and arrangements were immediately made for the transport *St. Mihiel* to proceed to Antwerp, where the men were expected to embark January 21. The Americans have been stationed at the Coblenz bridgehead ever since the end of the war, under command of Major-General Henry T. Allen, between the British at Cologne and the French at Mayence. Repeated demands for their recall had been thwarted by unanimous request of Germany and the Allies that our soldiers remain on the Rhine. This stabilizing influence was removed at the suggestion of the United States Senate which on January 6 adopted a resolution proposed by Mr. Reed (Dem., Mo.) advising President Harding of the feeling of the legislative branch of the Government and at the same time disavowing any "unfriendly or partisan attitude toward any nation or nations in Europe")

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From December 15, 1922 to January 15, 1923)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 15.—The House unseats Thomas W. Harrison, of the Seventh District of Virginia, because of alleged frauds in the 1921 election.

The Senate Agricultural Committee reports favorably the Norris farm-credit bill providing for a \$100,000,000 Government corporation to finance the sale of agricultural products.

December 16.—In the Senate, Mr. Norris (Rep., Neb.) moves to displace the Ship Subsidy bill with the Farmers' Rural Credits bill.

The House adopts a special rule (251 to 9) permitting a proposal for a new disarmament conference, to be called by the President, to be included in the Naval Appropriation bill; and Mr. King (Dem., Utah) offers a resolution proposing a conference on limitation of armaments on land and sea.

December 18.—The House passes the Naval Appropriation bill (\$325,000,000) without roll call, including the disarmament-conference proposal for limiting construction of surface and subsurface vessels and aircraft.

December 21.—In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Idaho) introduces an amendment to the Naval Appropriation bill authorizing the President to call a world conference on economic problems.

The Senate confirms the nomination of Pierce Butler (Dem.) for Associate Justice of the Supreme Court by vote of 61 to 8.

December 23.—The Senate Rules Committee orders the arrest of all "bootleggers" who enter the office building; and two hours later a waiter in the Senate restaurant slips and breaks a quart bottle of whiskey on the stone floor.

December 27.—In the Senate, Messrs. Borah (Rep., Idaho) and Lodge (Rep., Mass.) start a debate on whether America should undertake world economic reconstruction from the disorder produced by conditions in Europe.

December 30.—The Senate passes the Naval appropriation bill, carrying \$325,000,000.

January 3.—In the Senate, Mr. Robinson (Dem., Ark.) proposes a joint resolution authorizing President Harding to appoint, with the advice and consent of the Senate, one or more representatives on the Reparation Commission.

The House passes three of the annual appropriation bills: Post Office (\$584,614,000), Agricultural (\$69,068,000), and Interior (\$294,347,000).

January 5.—In the Senate, Mr. Reed (Dem., Mo.) introduces resolutions proposing negotiations with France and Great Britain for trading West Indies possessions in settlement of their war debts.

January 6.—The Senate, voting 57 to 6, adopts the amended resolution of Mr. Reed (Dem., Mo.) favoring immediate withdrawal of the American Army of Occupation from the Rhine (approximately 1000 troops, with headquarters at Coblenz; the

proposed withdrawal is aimed to avoid embarrassment, during the advance of French troops into Germany; up to April 30, 1921, the net cost of maintaining American troops in Germany had been \$241,719,339, after deducting German credits of \$35,000,000.

January 9.—The House Judiciary Committee votes 12 to 2 to dismiss the impeachment charges brought by Mr. Keller (Rep., Minn.) against Attorney-General Daugherty.

January 11.—The House agrees to the Senate amendment to the Second Deficiency bill raising the legation at Havana, Cuba, to the rank of Embassy, and limiting the salary of the Ambassador (probably General Enoch H. Crowder) to \$17,500.

January 12.—The House Army Appropriation bill is reported out of committee, carrying \$314,664,294, of which \$37,000,000 is for river and harbor projects; it provides for 125,000 men and 12,000 officers, as last year.

January 13.—In the Senate, the Agricultural Department bill is passed, appropriating \$73,586,000; and the Post Office budget bill carrying \$585,000,000 is also put through.

January 15.—The Senate lays aside the Ship Subsidy bill to take up rural credits legislation.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

December 16.—The fourteenth annual conference of Governors adjourns after discussing means of curbing the Ku Klux Klan and other matters.

December 18.—President Harding gives a luncheon to fourteen Governors, Vice President Coolidge, Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, and Prohibition Commissioner Haynes, to discuss dry law enforcement by the States.

December 20.—The Federal Reserve Board promulgates a ruling permitting rediscount of agricultural paper for six months instead of three.

Governor Parker of Louisiana sends a company of militia to Morehouse Parish to protect divers searching in Lakes Cooper and La Fourche for bodies of two men said to have been murdered by a band of hooded men.

December 22.—Two bodies are discovered after a dynamite explosion in Lake La Fourche, La., and State Attorney-General Coco is sent to Mer Rouge with assistants under protection of a machine gun company.

December 23.—An arrest is made at Mer Rouge, La., of a former deputy sheriff, who is charged with murder.

December 28.—President Harding writes to Senator Lodge opposing Senator Borah's international economic conference plan.

December 30.—Seven members of the Emergency Construction Committee of the Council of National Defense of the War Department are indicted for fraud in connection with contracts for erection of army cantonments, warehouses, port terminals, and fortifications, during the war, by a special grand jury established by Congress to investigate war contracts cases.

Eight Industrial Workers of the World imprisoned at Leavenworth for violation of the Espionage act are given the option by President Harding of commuted sentence and deportation, on pain of immediate reimprisonment if they return, or serving out their terms.

January 1.—New Governors are inaugurated in the States of New York, Arizona, New Mexico, Wyoming, California, Idaho, Nebraska and Tennessee; Michigan and Wisconsin inaugurate reelected executives.

January 2.—Albert Bacon Fall resigns (effective March 4) as Secretary of the Interior; he is the second member of the Harding Cabinet to quit, Mr. Will Hays having resigned as Postmaster-General after one year's service.

In Rhode Island, Governor William S. Flynn is inaugurated, and Governor W. H. McMaster of South Dakota is reinaugurated.

January 3.—President Harding vetoes the Bursum bill, increasing to \$72 monthly the pension granted to Civil War veterans, and the widows' pension to \$50; he declares that it would cost \$108,000,000 a year to begin with and within fifty years result in an outlay of \$50,000,000,000.

A consent decree is filed in the case of the Gypsum Industries Association, in which the Government outlines a codification of acts permitted under the Sherman Anti-trust law by trade associations.

Secretary Mellon and Postmaster-General Work join in recommending to Congress building appropriations of \$40,000,000 to relieve congestion and reduce the \$20,830,195 annual rent in 140 cities.

The Governors of Massachusetts, Maine, Minnesota, and North Dakota begin second terms, while New Hampshire and Vermont inaugurate new Governors (see page 163).

January 5.—In Connecticut, Charles A. Templeton is inaugurated Governor.

At Bastrop, La., the State begins an "open hearing" on the murder of two men at Lake La Fourche by members of a gowned and hooded gang.

January 6.—Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, declines the post of Secretary of Interior, in the belief he can be of greater usefulness in his present position.

January 8.—Arkansas reinaugurates Governor T. C. McRae, and Iowa reinstalls Governor Nathan E. Kendall, while Ohio seats Governor A. V. Donahey and Oregon installs Governor Walter M. Pierce.

January 9.—In Oklahoma City, Governor J. C. Walton is inaugurated in old-time Western style, with an immense carnival and barbecue on the State fair grounds attended by thousands from all over the State, including 3,000 Indians and many cowboys.

Major General George W. Goethals (retired) is appointed Fuel Administrator in New York State, succeeding William H. Woodin.

January 10.—The new Governor of Kansas, Hon. Jonathan M. Davis, in a 10,000 word message to the legislature, recommends many reforms and urges abolition of the Industrial Court law; Colorado inaugurates Governor William E. Sweet.

January 11.—Ira Nelson Morris, American Minister to Sweden, resigns to resume direction of his business interests in Chicago.

January 12.—D. R. Crissinger, of Marion, Ohio, is appointed Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, succeeding W. P. G. Harding; and James C. McNary, of New Mexico, is named to succeed Mr. Crissinger as Controller of the Currency, while Milo D. Campbell, of Coldwater, Mich., is nominated as the "dirt farmer" member of the Federal Reserve Board.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

December 15.—Premier Mussolini's reparation settlement plan is published by the Italian Foreign Office, and it provides for reducing the German reparations to 50,000,000,000 gold marks and giving Germany a two-year moratorium, but requiring her to raise a 3,000,000,000 mark loan and devote 500,000,000 marks to stabilizing currency, while the rest goes to reparations; Germany would continue payments in kind and the Allied Guaranty Commission would supervise stabilization of the mark, the budget, and reduction of inflation during the two-year period.

Premier Poincaré's foreign policy is sustained by the French Chamber of Deputies, 512 to 76, after André Tardieu forces continuation of the debate by vote of 289 to 238; but M. Poincaré disclaims any territorial designs against Germany or any intention to act apart from the Allies in enforcing guarantees.

The British Parliament is prorogued until February 13.

December 16.—The first President of Poland, Gabriel Narutowicz, is assassinated at Warsaw a week after his election and two days after inauguration, by an artist named Niewodomski; Maciej Rataj, Speaker of the House of Deputies, assumes power as President, and elections will be held December 20.

In Australia, general elections result in defeat for the government party of Premier Hughes (Nationalist) and increased power for the Labor party.

December 17.—The last of the British troops in Southern Ireland march through crowded streets in Dublin and depart, leaving Free State troops in charge.

Marshal Joseph Pilsudski is appointed Polish Chief of Staff, replacing General Sikorski, who becomes Premier.

December 18.—The Irish Parliament passes the Adaptation of Enactments bill, the first act of an Irish Parliament for 123 years.

December 19.—Seven men are executed at Dublin for train wrecking in County Kildare.

At Peking, General Chang Shao-tseng is appointed Premier, his selection being supported by General Tsao-kun, who is reported allying with Chang Tso-lin, the Manchurian.

December 20.—The Polish National Assembly elects Stanislaus Wojciechowski as the second President of Poland; Wojciechowski is a member of the Moderate party.

December 24.—President Obregon proposes to the Mexican Chamber of Deputies a general amnesty to all rebel prisoners, pointing out the complete restoration of order; the Mexican War Department orders demobilization of the rural auxiliary military bodies.

December 25.—The Spanish Cabinet Council nominates Miguel Villanueva as High Commissioner in Morocco, replacing General Burguete.

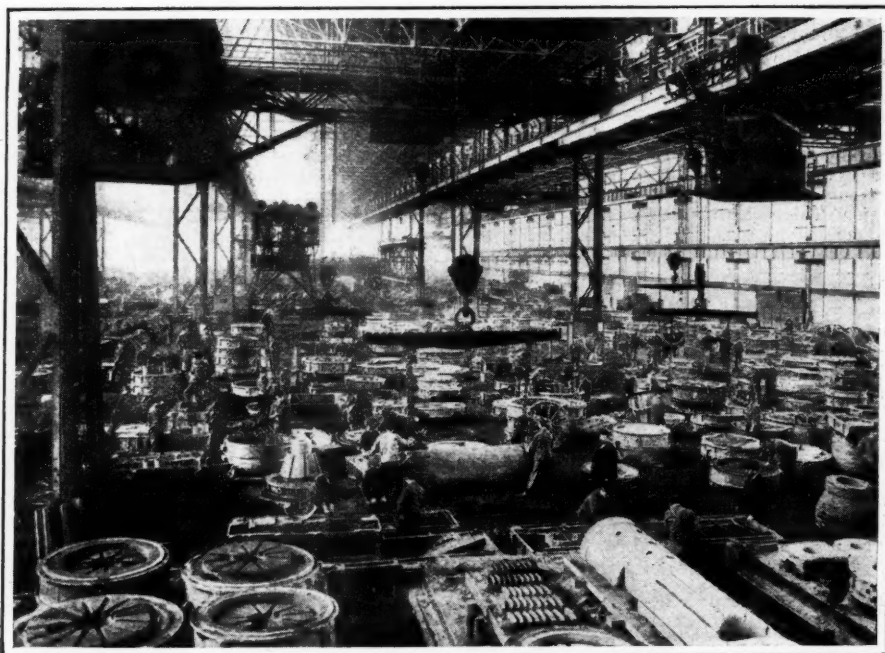
December 26.—The All-India Nationalist Congress begins its sessions at Gaya, Bengal; C. R. Das,



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THE LAST OF THE BRITISH TROOPS LEAVE IRELAND

(December 17 was a great day in Dublin, and it will go down in Irish history as a sort of emancipation day, when the visible evidence of oppression of the Irish ceased. It was with mixed emotions that the crowds in the streets witnessed the departure of the British troops, there being considerable cheering, a great deal of friendly feeling, and a few tears. The Free State government is now completely in charge of affairs in Ireland, and is taking drastic measures against small guerilla bands that still infest certain sections.)



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THE FAMOUS KRUPP WORKS AT ESSEN IN THE RUHR VALLEY

(Where French technical experts and soldiers took over German guarantees with the Belgians in a severe effort to extract reparations deliveries of coal and wood when Germany failed to make the stipulated deliveries. It will be noticed in this picture that the Krupp iron and steel works are no longer turning out cannon but are making wheels for railroad cars and locomotives)

the president, declares home-rule (swaraj) to be the most important question.

December 30.—Premier Bonar Law presents his German-reparations plan to the British Cabinet, calling for a moratorium of from two to four years, finality of settlement, and reduction of the total indemnity to £2,500,000,000.

The assassin who killed the Polish President is sentenced to death, two weeks after his crime.

The Cabinet of Premier General Chang Shao-tseng, at Peking, resigns.

December 31.—The Mexican Thirtieth Congress expires in disorder with an outbreak of the feud between "Coöperatistas" and the "Partido Liberal Constitucionalista."

January 1.—Premier Poincaré's demands for guarantees of a two-year German moratorium are reported as delivery of timber from German state forests, an Allied or French coal control commission in the Ruhr Valley, Allied or French control of customs on Rhine and Ruhr frontiers, Allied tax on Ruhr coal, one-fourth payable in foreign currency (estimated to yield 400,000,000 gold marks a year), and a 26 per cent. tax on all exports from the Rhine and the Ruhr listed in the agreements of May, 1921, export licenses to be granted only against the deposit of securities.

Sun Yat-sen's troops occupy Wuchow, Kwangsi, China, driving out General Chen Chiung-ming, who removed Sun from power at Canton as President of the Southern Republic.

The All-India National Congress votes 1740 to 800 to enter no candidates for the Legislative Councils, and C. R. Das forms the "Congress Khalifat Swarajya Party" to convert the National Congress to the policy of contesting elections, while adhering to the Gandhi program.

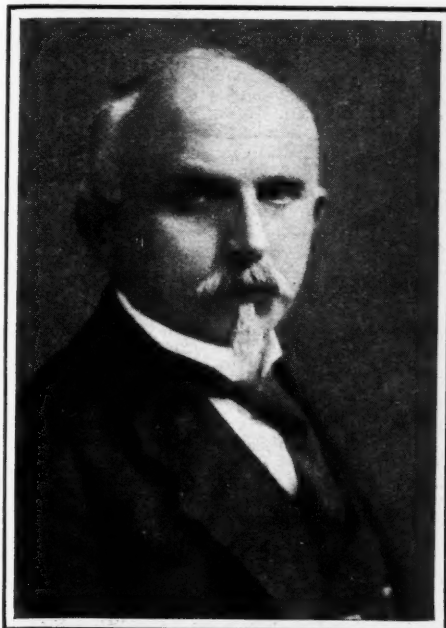
January 2.—The South China Government at Canton is reported to have offered to reunite with the central government at Peking.

January 3.—The Chilean Cabinet headed by Premier Rivas Vicuna resigns over the appointment of Braulio Moreno as President of the Supreme Court.

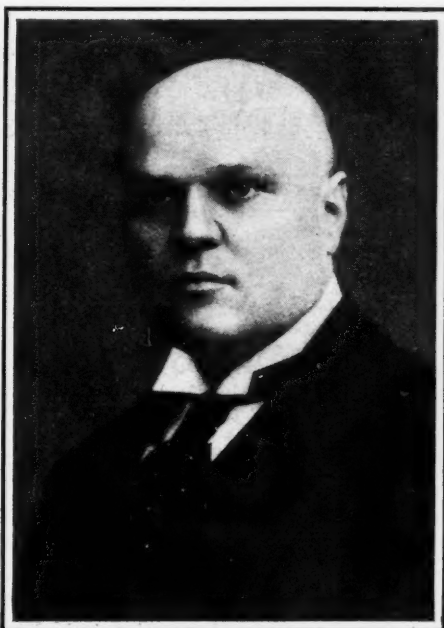
January 9.—Premier Theunis announces to the Belgian Chamber of Deputies the determination of his Government to back up France and regrets that Britain is not moving with the Allies, making it clear that Belgium is acting "without anger or vengeance."

The French Minister of Finance, M. de Lasteyrie, plans an increase of 20 per cent. in all French taxes except the income tax on salaries; it is expected revenues will increase 3,000,000,000 francs a year (there is a budget deficit of 4,000,000,000 francs).

January 11.—Premier Poincaré is sustained in the French Chamber of Deputies on his Ruhr invasion policy, by vote of 478 to 86, after declaring that three years' experience has indicated Germany would never pay a thing and that seizure of guarantees is vital.



Alois Rasín, Finance Minister



Antony Svehla, Premier

NEW STATESMEN IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, A NEW CENTRAL EUROPEAN REPUBLIC

(Dr. Rasín is father of Czechoslovakia's whole financial policy, dating back previous to his appointment in the Svehla Cabinet; and the value of Czech currency ranks high in contrast with other parts of the former Austrian Empire. Rasín was born in Bohemia, studied at the University of Prague, and was imprisoned by Austria for disloyalty shortly after the outbreak of war. Premier Svehla was born in Bohemia fifty years ago, and has spent a lifetime in the movement to emancipate Czech agriculturists. To him is due the great strength of the Agrarian party. Both Svehla and Rasín were in the small group of leaders who took over Czech affairs from Austria, then collapsing, in October, 1918)

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

December 15.—Ambassador Harvey is called to Washington from London for consultation.

Col. William N. Haskell, American Relief Administration director, is appointed to take over Greek relief through the American Red Cross; 50,000 Armenian refugees arrive at Aleppo.

Masanao Hanihara, Japanese Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, is appointed Ambassador to Washington.

December 16.—Riza Nur Bey states at the Lausanne Conference that Turkey, having separated church and state, must insist on the same action by all other factions in Turkey.

December 18.—The Central American Conference votes down the proposal for a political union, but adopts a plan for study of proposed systems of federation by Central American commissions and also for a meeting of plenipotentiaries in January, 1926, to consider the establishment of a basis for such a union and a constitutional assembly to draft a constitution.

December 20.—Great Britain cables to America her consent to a plan proposed by a German trade commission headed by Chancellor Wilhelm Cuno for the appointment of a group of American business men to fix a new basis for the payment of war reparations; the United States Chamber of Commerce asks Secretary Hoover to take up the matter with President Harding.

Turkey accepts the Allied plan for freedom of the

Straits, but America has notified the Allies she disapproves of the International Straits Commission, which is to function under the League of Nations. (By ratifying the treaty the United States would obtain membership on the commission.)

Italy's new Ambassador arrives in the United States; he is Don Gelasio dei Principi di Caetani, a graduate of Columbia University.

December 26.—The Reparation Commission decides by vote of 3 to 1 that Germany is in voluntary default in her wood deliveries for 1922, Great Britain standing alone in opposition.

December 27.—Great Britain notifies Turkey of her flat refusal to consider the Turkish demand for Mosul, where the world's richest potential oil fields lie; the Turks had written a note to Britain stating all agreements reached at Lausanne are conditioned upon surrender of Mosul.

Turkey's Nationalist Government permits Greek vessels to enter Black Sea ports to embark refugees from Asia Minor, if not under the Greek flag and if escorted by American destroyers; the Near East Relief extends its operations to adults as well as orphans, dispatching food and ships.

December 31.—Chancellor Cuno tells the German Reichstag that a Franco-German non-war proposal offered by Germany through America has been rejected by Premier Poincaré because France, under Article XI of the League Covenant (which provides that threat of war against any member becomes of concern for all and necessitates wise and effectual

action to safeguard peace) is already covenanted against war.

Ambassador Harvey returns from London, reporting immediately to President Harding.

January 2.—The Reparations Conference (which adjourned at London on December 11) meets at Paris, and French, British, and Italian plans are presented; all agree on reduction of the German indemnity to 50,000,000,000 gold marks, but France and Britain are opposed on penalties, Britain being for occupation only on future default after unanimous Allied consent. . . . France proposes payment of interallied debts with Class C reparation bonds (practically conceded elsewhere as financially worthless), while England insists on partial payment and immediate taking of gold deposited as security by France and Italy in London for war advances, including 1,864,000,000 francs (about one-third of the gold reserve of the Bank of France).

January 4.—The British Debt Commission arrives at New York City, Stanley Baldwin, Chancellor of the Exchequer, announcing: "We English always have paid and always will pay our debts;" but the British will endeavor to reduce the interest rate and extend the time for repayment.

The Paris conference on reparations breaks up in disagreement between France and England, which is friendly but firm, Poincaré stating they "agree to disagree."

January 5.—The United States Government, it is announced, decides to let the next move in reparations settlement come from Europe, America having offered a suggestion to France of a commission of financiers with unimpeachable representatives from the various countries, to make a final settlement; Germany, England, Belgium, and Italy are understood to be in accord with American proposals, and to await only the consent of France, which is concurrently notified of American disapproval of the use of force in the Ruhr Valley.

The Lausanne Conference becomes deadlocked on the Turkish debt, the Nationalists calculating it at £400,000,000 and the Allies at £140,000,000, the difference being in Turkish inclusion of the period between 1914 and 1918; the Allies propose to split the debt among the various portions of the former Turkish Empire, at the lower figure.

January 6.—At Lausanne, the Turks refuse to reconsider their rejection of the Allied request for guarantees to foreigners to supplant capitulations which are cancelled; and Riza Nur also refuses to listen to further pleas for an Armenian homeland, stating: "You Allies are quite right in concerning yourselves with the Armenians, whom you have incited against the Turks, and upon whom you have brought ruin."

January 9.—The Reparation Commission, voting 3 to 1, holds Germany in wilful default on 1922 coal deliveries, Belgium and Italy acting with France; Sir John Bradbury (British) notes that Germany is only in $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. default after deducting deficits due to causes beyond her control; Mr. Boyden (American "observer") declares his opinion that the reparations of the Versailles Treaty are impossible.

The British Mediterranean fleet, with battleships from the Atlantic fleet, concentrates in Turkish waters.

January 10.—The Lausanne Conference decides to exchange the Greek population of Turkey for the Turkish people in Greece, except for 200,000 Greeks

in Constantinople and the 300,000 Turks in Western Thrace (Greece); the exchange involves 1,000,000 persons.

President Harding, in the face of an impending French advance into Germany, orders the return of American troops on the Rhine.

France notifies Berlin that, as a result of German default in coal deliveries, "the French Government has decided to dispatch to the Ruhr a mission of control composed of engineers and having the necessary powers to supervise the acts of the Kohlsyndikat . . . to assure . . . strict application of the schedules fixed by the Reparation Commission and take all necessary measures for the payment of reparations."

French armies begin a movement across the Rhine into the German coal and iron region of the Ruhr Valley, on the ground that Germany has failed in her treaty obligations; Essen is occupied without incident, General Degoutte taking command at Duesseldorf and German industrial experts departing.

Germany recalls her Ambassador to France and her Minister to Belgium at Brussels, leaving affairs in charge of the German counselors; the concordat with Italy, involving payment of 800,000,000 marks for the redemption of German property in Italy, is denounced.

January 11.—The German Government protests to the United States and Great Britain against the French invasion of the Ruhr, stating that coercive military measures are being "directed against a defenseless and peaceful nation," and that Germany will not "meet violence with violence."

Lithuanian irregular troops march on the town of Memel, claimed alike by Germany and Lithuania, which is under administration of the League of Nations with a French garrison, (Memel is in former East Prussia, and is a port on the Baltic).

January 13.—The Reparation Commission postpones for fifteen days the German indemnity payment of 500,000,000 gold marks due January 15.

January 15.—French troops extend occupation of the Ruhr section to Dortmund in answer to Germany's order to deliver no coal to France or Belgium under any circumstances; and the mines may be requisitioned unless a settlement is reached within three days.

Memel is captured by the Lithuanians.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

December 15.—William Jewell College, a Baptist institution at Liberty, Mo., dismisses Dr. Arthur Wakefield Slaten, professor of biblical literature, because of his broad views on religion.

December 16.—The American destroyer *Bainbridge* rescues 400 persons from the burning French hospital ship *Vinh-Long* in the Sea of Marmora.

The Ballard gang of Kentucky moonshiners is broken up, after pitched battles in the mountains with Federal prohibition agents, who lose three killed.

December 18.—A gang of thugs rob a truck of \$200,000 in bills in front of the Denver mint.

The La Plata Museum of Buenos Aires announces discovery of the thigh bones of a Patagonian dinosaur, each two meters, seventy centimeters long; they are the largest yet discovered.

December 20.—All American radio amateurs stop transmission for ten days to try and detect French and British amateurs sending on high power.

December 21.—The discovery of the tomb of King Tutankhamen, one of the Pharaohs, who ascended the Egyptian throne in 1358 B. C., is announced by Howard Carter (an American), director of Lord Carnarvon's expedition, after thirty-three years' search; the discovery is momentous because it is the only Pharaonic burial practically untouched and because the King's marvelous effects indicate a refinement of arts and decorations which transcends that of the Italian Renaissance.

The old Dearborn Street railroad station in Chicago is destroyed by fire; it was erected in 1884 for \$300,000, and will cost over \$1,000,000 to replace.

December 22.—The historic Catholic cathedral of Quebec, the Basilica of the Immaculate Conception, is destroyed by fire; it was valued at \$1,000,000.

December 23.—Pope Pius publishes his encyclical, deploring immodest fashions and dances, criticizing industrial unrest, and condemning international jealousy, fearing new wars.

Dr. Josiah H. Penniman is elected Provost of the University of Pennsylvania.

The Woodrow Wilson Foundation is put on a permanent basis by the establishment of a trust fund gathered by subscriptions from all over the world for making awards to those who render "meritorious service to democracy, public welfare, liberal thought, or peace through justice."

December 31.—The International Red Cross Commission reports on conditions in Anatolia, after investigation on the ground and dispensing food and clothing; the commission found whole cities methodically and completely destroyed (by Greeks), many miles from the front, before the arrival of Turkish armies.

The American Relief Administration reports control of the famine in Russia, having fed 10,000,000 persons besides furnishing clothing and shelter to many.

The Methodist Church reports a gain of 119,007 members in 1922, with a total membership of 4,593,540.

January 4.—Emile Coué, the noted French mental healer, arrives at New York to expound his doctrine of "self-mastery through conscious autosuggestion."

January 5.—At Rosewood, Fla., race riots result in a number of casualties, including six deaths.

January 6.—New York State announces registration in 1922 of 1,007,617 motor vehicles, as against 819,223 in 1921, with a revenue from fees of \$12,705,064.12, an increase of \$2,240,365.75.

January 14.—A group of American telephone officials talk over the radio-telephone from New York City with Guglielmo Marconi at Southgate, England, 3,400 miles away, using the new water-cooled, high-power transmitting tubes.

OBITUARY

December 15.—Col. Alfred Eugene Bradley, former Chief Surgeon of the A. E. F. in France, 59.

December 17.—Eliezer Ben-Yehudah, noted author, Zionist, and modernizer of the Hebrew language, 64. . . . James Fitzgerald, former Justice of the New York Supreme Court, 71. . . . John H. Bass, of Ft. Wayne, Ind., manufacturer, 87. . . . Marie Goetz, operatic alto singer.

December 18.—Rev. Dr. Henry Anstice, for fifty-seven years Assistant Secretary and Secretary

of the House of Deputies of the Episcopal Church, 81. . . . David Lindsay, noted Australian explorer and gold mining pioneer, 66.

December 21.—Alexandre Dole, sculptor, of Boston, 65. . . . William R. Walker, notable steel technician, of the United States Steel Corporation, 66. . . . Prof. Vincenzo Tangorra, Italian Minister of Treasury.

December 23.—Dr. Charles Andrew Powers noted surgeon of Denver, Colo., president of the American Society for the Prevention of Cancer, 64. . . . Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, London Assyriologist, 72. . . . Justice Claude B. Alverson, of the New York Supreme Court, 45.

December 24.—Judge Thomas Ives Chatfield, of the United States District Court at New York, 51.

December 25.—Fred Greiner, Republican "boss" of Western New York, 68. . . . Emil Frey, former Swiss President, 84. . . . Ernesto Tisdal Lefevre, former President of Panama. . . . Erastus Brainerd, former editor of the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*, 67.

December 27.—William Fisk Crafts, D. D., clergyman, author, lecturer, noted reformer, and prohibitionist, 73. . . . Robert W. Bligh, veteran reporter of New York City, 88. . . . Marcus Joseph Wright, former Confederate General and noted Southern author, 91. . . . T. W. Rhys Davids, of London, Buddhist scholar, 79.

December 28.—Windham Baring, noted English banker, 43.

January 4.—John Brooks Henderson, Washington, D. C., lawyer, 53. . . . Rear Admiral Frederick Singer, U. S. N., retired, 76. . . . Frank S. Turnbull, president of Rogers, Peet & Co., New York, 57.

January 7.—Dr. Emil Gustav Hirsch, of Chicago, noted Hebrew orator, educator, and author, 71. . . . Carlos Manuel Tobar y Horgono, Ecuadorean Minister to Italy.

January 8.—William M. Cramp, Philadelphia shipbuilder, 91. . . . Admiral Baron Hayas Shima Mura, chief of the Japanese Naval staff, 65.

January 9.—Johnkheer De Banfort, noted Dutch Diplomat. . . . Cyril Arthur Edward Ranger Gull, English fictionist, 46.

January 10.—Judge Sanborn Gove Tenney, of Pittsfield, Mass., 59. . . . Augustus S. Crane, newspaper publisher of Elizabeth, N. J., 64. . . . Lawrence Vest Stephens, former Governor of Missouri, 64.

January 11.—William Henry Moore, noted corporation lawyer and breeder and exhibitor of horses, 75. . . . George John Hamlin, American tenor, 53. . . . Francis J. Cole, locomotive designer, of Schenectady, N. Y., 65. . . . Dr. Nelson Powell Hulst, of Milwaukee, mining engineer and industrialist, 80. . . . Former King Constantine of Greece, twice dethroned, 54.

January 12.—Dr. Robert Thaxter Edes, a Civil War surgeon, of Springfield, Mass., 85. . . . Elsie Ward Hering, sculptress, 50.

January 13.—Ervin Wardman, well-known New York newspaper editor and author, 58. . . . Nestor Montoya, Representative-at-large from New Mexico, 60.

January 14.—Frederic Harrison, famous Victorian author and publicist, 91. . . . Alexandre Ribot, French Senator and former Premier, 80.

UNCLE SAM AND EUROPE

OUR FINANCIAL AND MORAL OBLIGATIONS,
AS INTERPRETED IN CARTOONS



AN IMPORTANT CHANGE IN AMERICA'S ATTITUDE IS FORECAST

From the *News & Mercury* (Birmingham, England)



HISTORY DECLINES TO REPEAT ITSELF

KING CIVILIZATION: "Will none of you rid me of this base, turbulent Turk?"
SIR SAM: "Wa'al, King, I guess I don't mind it bein' done, and I don't mind advisin' you how to do it: but I kayn't help. We don't do anything like that outside Amurrika."

From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)



THE DOLLAR THERMOMETER

("Ah, 5000 to the dollar. When it reaches 10,000 I will take action.")

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)

[It is interesting to note that before this cartoon reached America the German mark had fallen in value until it required even more than 10,000 to equal a dollar. French seizure of the Ruhr industrial region lowered the exchange rate in New York, on January 15, to 13,000 for one dollar. Before the war 14,000 marks were worth \$3600]



UNCLE SAM TO THE RESCUE OF GERMANY

UNCLE SAM: "Durn it; I can't let him commit suicide. He's got some cash o' mine."

From the *Western Mail* (Cardiff, Wales)

EUROPE continues to chide the United States for failure to become active in the readjustment of questions in dispute since the Armistice of 1918, and overlooks no opportunity to cast reflections upon Uncle Sam's prosperity.



ALMOST AS TALL AS "PAR"

(The pound sterling is still soaring and is now worth over nineteen shillings in New York)

From the *Evening News* (London, England)



THE "LISTENER"

THE CONFEREES (at the Lausanne Conference on Near East): "Ought we to let him remain standing or invite him to sit with us?"

From the *Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



UNCLE SAM: "GEE! PERHAPS AFTER ALL I'D BETTER DO SOMETHING, OR I SHALL HAVE THE FLOOD IN MY GARDEN"

From *The People* (London, England)

If American purse strings should be loosened, sooner or later, it will—in the opinion of our European friends—be merely because



THE GERMAN GOOSE

From the *Westminster Gazette* (London, England)

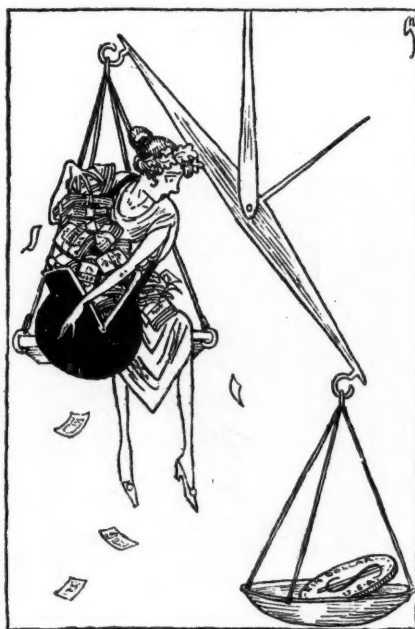


SCIENTIFIC AMENDMENT

COPERNICUS: "After all, my theory is wrong. The earth does not revolve around the sun—but around the American Dollar."

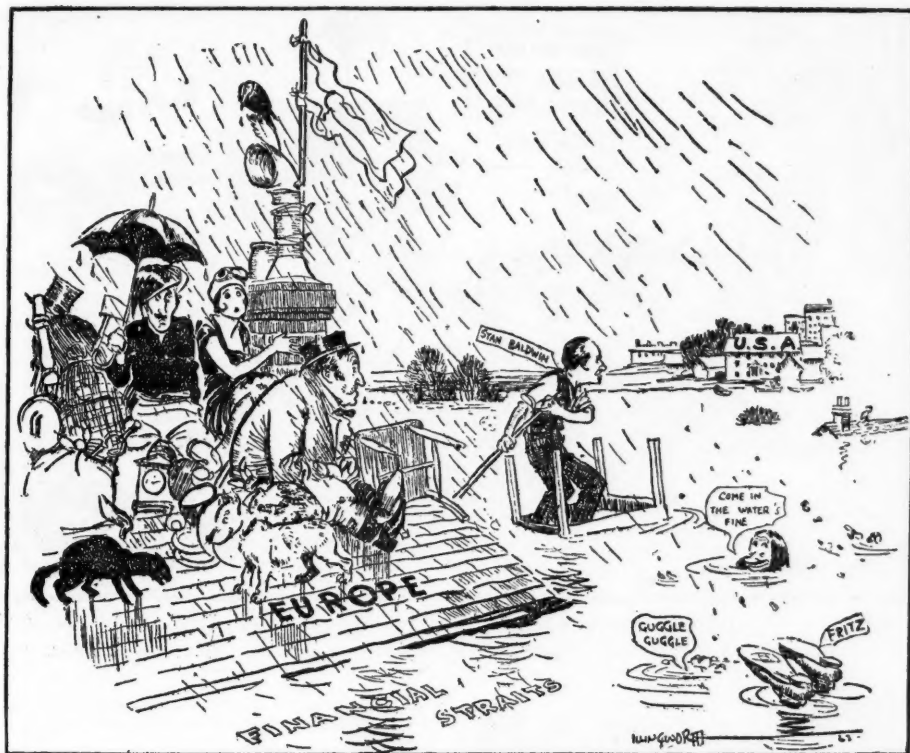
From *Mucha* (Warsaw, Poland)

we seemed in danger from the economic and financial chaos so prevalent in Europe.



GERMANY ON THE SCALES

"Strange! The more paper I carry the less I weigh!"
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)



SENDING THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER TO AMERICA FOR HELP

JOHN BULL: "And be quick, Stan; the flood's rising."

From the *Western Mail* (Cardiff, Wales)



THE NEW YEAR'S DRINK

"Well, here's to the next war!"

From *De Notenkraaker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



AT LAUSANNE

The same smell of oil, as at Genoa

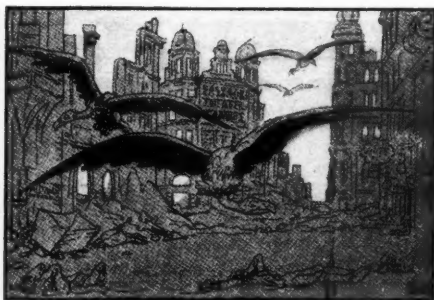
From *Carnet de la Semaine* (Paris, France)

[French cartoonists for some time have not hesitated to criticize British motives, as well as American, where oil concessions enter into diplomatic conferences]



INTEREST AND INTERESTS!—From the *Poll Mail Gazette* (London, England)

[In the first scene, Uncle Sam is shown reading the Monroe Doctrine while Christians in Turkey are being massacred]



THE LAST ACT OF THE DRAMA—A GERMAN CARTOON ON THE FRENCH INVASION

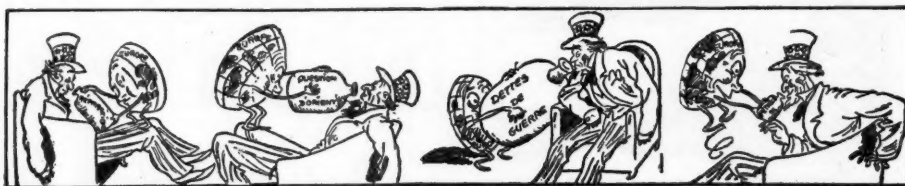
EASTERN VULTURES IN BERLIN: "Any old gold and silver for sale?"

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)



WHETHER UNCLE SAM LIKES IT OR NOT

By Kirby, in the *World* (New York)



Reparations gin
"No, he does not notice it."

Levant claret
"Nothing will wake him."

War debts ale
"Faster asleep than ever."

Oil of Mosul
"Ah! He wakes!"

THE AWAKENING OF UNCLE SAM—From *Europe* (Paris, France)



NONE SO DEAF AS THOSE WHO WON'T HEAR

UNCLE SAM: "Excuse me, marm, but I'm kind o' hard o' hearin'. What was it you said?"

EUROPE: "I said, 'How about that £300,000,000 loan?'"

UNCLE SAM: "Yed! It IS trving weather for the time o' year, ain't it?"

[We have been disappointed so frequently by America's reluctance to come to the assistance of Europe that we are not disposed, on this occasion, to entertain the extravagant hopes of some of our contemporaries]

From the *South Wales News* (Cardiff, Wales)



THAT AWFUL SPECTRE

RAMSAY MACDONALD (leader of the Labor Opposition in the British Parliament): "That Spectre must be laid."

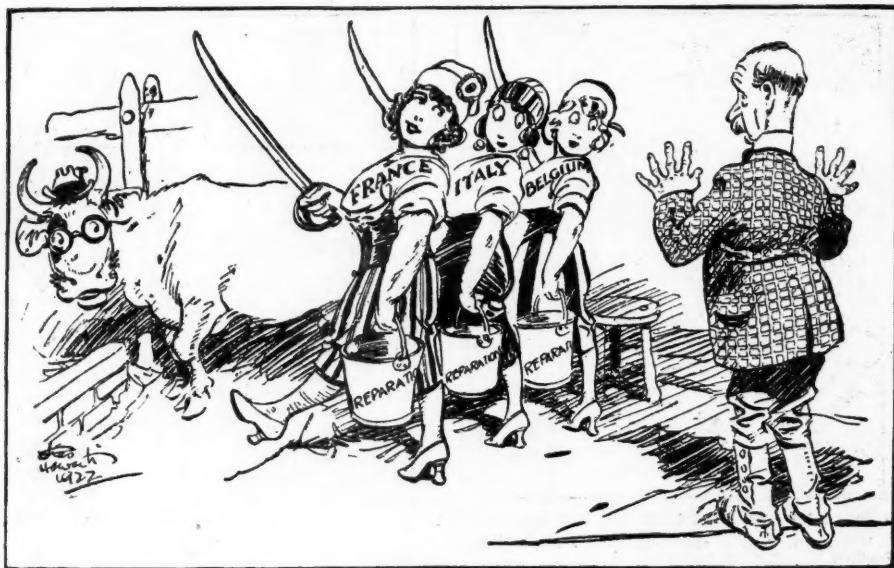
BONAR LAW: "Yes, I'm relyng on you to help me lay it."

From the *People* (London, England)



NEXT PLEASE—From the *Pall Mall Gazette* (London, England)

It is estimated here that Bonar Law, the new British Premier, has restored John Bull and is ready to cure the rest of Europe]



WE'RE GOING A-MILKING, SIR, THEY SAID

From the *News & Mercury* (Birmingham, England)THE FRANC: "FOCH IS GOING FORWARD.
THEN I'M GOING BACK!"From *Kikeriki* (Vienna, Austria)

France decided last month to use force in the collection of Germany's obligations—supported by Belgium actively and Italy passively, and opposed by Great Britain. On January 10 the Ruhr industrial region was occupied by French and Belgian troops. The world had reason to feel that a new



CRASHING RIGHT IN

From the *Sentinel* (Milwaukee, Wis.)

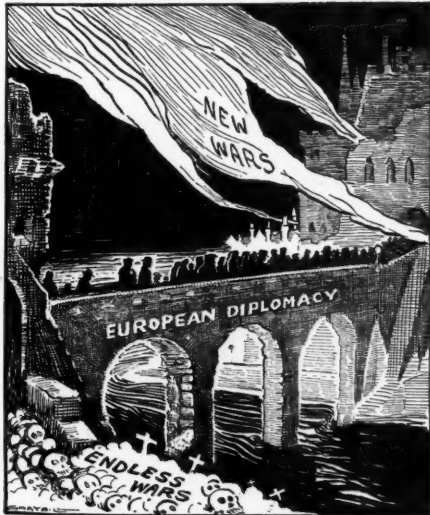


FRANCE AND THE GERMAN FINANCIAL PROPOSALS

THE FRENCH MARIANNE: "Give them to me. I'll make an omelette of them."

From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

phase of the Great War had begun, with grave possibilities for the whole of Europe.



THE BRIDGE OF SIGHS

From the *Bee* (Omaha, Neb.)



JOHN BULL GROWS TIRED OF IT, TOO

From the *Tribune* © (New York)



ITALY, SCORNE, AT FORMER
CONFERENCES



NOW WELCOMED WITH MUSSOLINI
AS SPOKESMAN

From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)



TOO MUCH TAIL

From the *Democrat & Chronicle* (Rochester, N. Y.)



IF THEY COULD GET TOGETHER

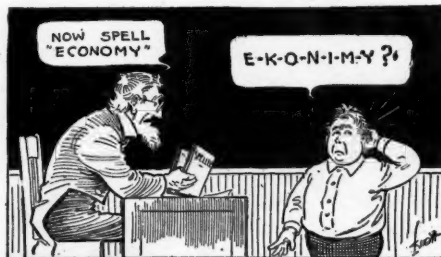
From the *Blade* (Toledo, Ohio)

[American industry, it is claimed, is now short of labor under the new immigration restrictions.]



THE SPELLER—AN EASY ONE AND THEN A HARD ONE

From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)



EUROPE'S NEW CRISIS

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE FRENCH DECISION

A MONTH ago I outlined the gravity of the situation which then existed in Europe and indicated that many evil things were once more within the limits of possibility, if not of probability. Four weeks later there can be no mistaking the fact that not only has the general situation worsened, but we are in the presence of a new crisis, one of the consequences of which may be a new war. As I write, French troops have moved into the Ruhr. Their coming may have no more serious consequences than a similar although less extensive troop movement several years ago. But, on the other hand, we have recognized that resistance, passive at first, may lead to open conflict in the end.

How shall one briefly describe the new situation? What has happened has frequently been foreshadowed. It has been plain to some observers from the outset that the result of the German attack upon France in 1914 might be the ruin of Germany, unless the aggressor country consented to repair the damage done to its victim. It has been clear that if the damage were not thus repaired, France and not Germany would lose the war.

Yet it has been equally patent for many months that Germany was not paying and did not mean to pay for the damage she had done and that if the Allies had laid upon German shoulders a burden beyond German capacity, it was equally plain that the Germans were prepared to avoid and evade all burden so far as it was humanly possible. It was also manifest that the Germans relied upon the United States and upon Great Britain to prevent the French from collecting war reparations.

Now in discussing the new situation one has first to meet the American demand: Why does France resort to force? American public opinion, like British, is plainly hostile to such a method. Unmistakably France will suffer in the estimation of both countries by reason of her action and it may be that in addition, as London and Wash-

ington believe, she will not succeed in collecting any substantial amount. Why then should the French have acted?

The easiest and the most plausible explanation of French policy is that France is suffering from an excess of militarism, that she desires that Germany should be called upon to pay too much, so that German default may permit French action which would lead to the partition of Germany and the annexation by France of the left bank of the Rhine.

Yet such an explanation pays little heed to the essential facts in the situation. If the French have used force to collect their debts, it is primarily because they have tried other methods and failed. So far France has expended \$8,000,000,000 upon her devastations and war pensions and Germany has paid her not over a quarter of a billion. It will be necessary for France to expend several more billions upon her reconstruction before she can house the people who are still living in temporary shacks or barracks after four years of peace.

In this situation, what is the position of France? If Germany does not pay eventually, French taxpayers will be burdened with a debt of some ten or twelve billions growing out of German devastations and the care of French soldiers crippled and mutilated during the war. Germany, by contrast, has no devastations and if she escapes paying reparations will in addition avoid a foreign debt, while France remains bound to pay some seven billions to her Allies of the war for loans.

The Treaty of Versailles provided that France should be reimbursed for her losses of civilian property, for the destruction due to German invasion and occupation and in addition for the costs of war pensions. I am going to discuss this whole aspect in a moment, but now I desire to make clear one fact. The choice for France was not, as seems in America to be assumed, between reasonable payment, that is, German payment of sums which might be regarded as possible, and a sterile insistence upon sums out of the question. The choice for France

was between the occupation of German territory, which is richly productive, with the possibility of collecting something, and a continuation of the present situation, where nothing is paid by Germany.

It is a profound mistake to argue that France was presented with an alternative and that she chose the less advantageous course. No proposal was made to France either by Great Britain or the United States, much less by Germany, which would give her even the slightest assurance of receiving sums which were in any sense adequate, while falling within the four corners of German capacity.

French action in the main is the direct outcome of the fact that the alternative presented the French was between the occupation of the Ruhr and the consent to a moratorium for from two to four years. During that time France would have to continue to bear the burden of reparations expenditures already mounting up close to the total she could ever hope to receive from Germany. When the moratorium period was over, the very clear likelihood was that Germany, grown stronger, would decline to make payments and be able to resist occupation.

Accept the fact, and it is a fact, that just as there are groups of Americans who have urged and continue to urge that wise American policy demands an occupation of Mexico, there are similar groups of Frenchmen who would like to see Germany partitioned, and economically destroyed, and who would like to see France permanently occupy the left bank of the Rhine from Switzerland to the Dutch frontiers. It is nevertheless true that these elements would still be negligible, were it possible for the French Government to present a country which is in the main essentially peace-loving with any promise of reasonable German payments.

But such is not the case. The German is resolved to escape payment. The Frenchman is determined to collect what he can on a bill which is based upon essential justice. The British and the American Governments are concerned with the preservation and expansion of the German market, and eager to prevent a French action which would interfere with their own trade. I am going to explain in a moment what the two Anglo-Saxon countries have proposed. But in this preliminary summary it is enough to indicate that they have proposed

much that would be useful to themselves, much which would help Germany, and not one thing that would aid France.

We are, moreover, dealing not with an isolated France but with a France supported in principle by Belgium and Italy, and in action by Belgium. The three nations whose soil was ravaged by German armies are agreed in the conviction that force must be used to compel German payments. Together they hold 75 per cent. of the claims of the Allies against Germany. On the other side stands Britain with 22 per cent., frankly more concerned about the prospects of trade than about the collection of the British share of reparations.

Certainly there is no militaristic Belgium; certainly the Belgian people cherish no ambition to annex German territory. They have, moreover, at this moment a statesman as Prime Minister, M. Theunis, who is recognized all over the world as both wise and moderate. If Poincaré is to be described as a fire-eater, which is a rather grotesque characterization, Theunis at least deserves no such appellation. Yet the Belgian Prime Minister and his fellow-countrymen are agreed as to the necessity to use force.

My own judgment, based upon such knowledge as I have of the French people and such experience with their present views as I gained last spring in Paris, is that the mass of the French people see the movement into the Ruhr with regret and apprehension, that they freely concede that it is a step which may lead to grave consequences, but that from their point of view it is inescapable because the alternative is a bankrupt France facing a Germany restored and freed from foreign debts.

II. THE CONFERENCE OF LONDON

The present situation is the direct outcome of the breakdown of the recent Conference of London. At this momentous meeting the British presented a program of reparations. It was the single program which envisaged an escape from the use of force both to collect and to seize guarantees of payment in the future if Germany was to be granted a moratorium. Now the question is patently: Did the British proposal offer a reasonable way out of the situation?

Manifestly not. Let us look back for a moment at the dull but necessary history

of reparations. The war was made by Germany in the first place. In the second place, it was conducted by the Germans in France with the deliberate purpose to erase France as a great nation. To that end French mines, factories and cities were destroyed. When Germany was beaten the world accepted the principle that Germany should pay for her destructions. Moreover, there never has been any question as to her ability to pay enough to rebuild the ruins of France and of Belgium, and for her share of the destruction in Northern Italy.

At the Paris Conference our financial experts agreed that Germany could pay for this item, and fixed her capacity to pay at around \$15,000,000,000. They agreed, moreover, that of this sum, 75 per cent. should go to the French and 8 per cent. to the British, the balance falling to Belgium and Italy, with small sums for other allies. But at this point Lloyd George intervened. He saw that under the American arrangement France would get upwards of \$11,000,000,000 and Britain not much more than \$1,000,000,000. It would be impossible to increase the British share as long as the payments were based upon destruction. For Britain, apart from shipping, had sustained very small losses in property, as a result of bombing raids, and she had not been invaded.

But Lloyd George had just made a campaign in which he had pledged himself to make Germany pay the uttermost shilling of the costs of the war. Accordingly, he put forward, through Smuts of South Africa, the ingenious argument that war pensions were a proper charge against Germany. This plea was rejected by the Americans on two grounds—that it was a violation of the terms of the armistice, and that it would impose a burden beyond the German capacity to carry. But Smuts succeeded in persuading Mr. Wilson, against the advice of his financial experts. Thus the total of reparations was raised from \$15,000,000,000 to a sum fixed later at \$33,000,000,000.

But it is essential to note that while the French were to have 75 per cent. of the \$15,000,000,000 because that represented their proportion, if the mere devastations were to be considered, their participation fell to 52 per cent. under the new arrangement, while the British rose from 8 per cent. to 22 per cent. This was satisfactory

to the French, provided the total was raised with the readjustment of percentages. And when the total was fixed at \$33,000,000,000 the French share was \$17,000,000,000, as contrasted with \$11,000,000,000 of the \$15,000,000,000.

Note now, however, what happened. The British took the German merchant marine and the best of the German colonies, that is, the most valuable of the liquid assets. Then at once there began the great British agitation for the reduction of the sum of reparations. This was sound, for the sum of German reparations had been fixed too high. Yet it had been fixed thus on the direct appeal of Lloyd George. In demanding a reduction, however, the British did not ask for a return to the situation in Paris. They did not ask that the item of pensions, which had inflated the sum, should be excluded. They did not offer to abandon their 22 per cent. participation, which was based upon pensions, and go back to their 8 per cent., which represented their share in payments for actual property destruction.

As time passed, it became clear to the whole world that the sum of reparations must be reduced. But it was equally clear to the French, the Belgians and the Italians that if the total of reparations were reduced but the percentages unchanged, then while France, Belgium and Italy received sums far less than the actual cost of rebuilding their ruins, the British, who had no ruins, would obtain very considerable sums to meet their war burdens.

As a balance to this there grew up a demand in Paris, Rome and Brussels that the question of inter-allied debts should be considered. It had become clear that Germany could not pay much more than \$10,000,000,000 or \$12,000,000,000. But France, alone, owed the United States and Britain above \$7,000,000,000, which was actually in excess of the sum she would receive from Germany if the total of reparations were reduced. This reduction would leave her still in debt to her Allies, while having to raise some \$8,000,000,000 for actual reconstruction. Italy and Belgium were in a similar position.

It was therefore suggested that the sum of German reparations should be reduced to the possible figure, but that the situation of the Continental countries should be materially bettered by the mutual cancellation of debts. To this the United States at once demurred, because, unlike Britain, she

had received no territorial or other advantages and she had resigned in advance all share in reparations.

Britain, on her part, quite cleverly interposed through the Balfour Note the answer that she would cancel if the United States would, thus tying us into the mess. But the net effect of the British proposal would be that Britain would escape a debt of \$4,500,000,000 to us, which she could pay and was required to pay, while the Continental nations would benefit only by the cancellation of debts which they could not pay unless Germany could pay them sums which were now recognized as impossible. Moreover, the United States rejected the proposal out of hand, and that rejection insured the failure of the London Conference.

We come now to the Paris Conference. What did Bonar Law there propose? Substantially this, and I give the explanation of an American banker who was on our commission in the Paris Conference of 1918: The sum of German reparations was to be fixed at from ten to twelve billions of dollars. A moratorium was to be granted to Germany for from two to four years, during which no steps were to be taken to collect and no provision was made for the use of force to collect after the moratorium period if Germany then refused payment.

Meantime an intricate transaction was foreshadowed. The British were to seize the French and Italian gold reserves which had been deposited in London, together with a large sum of the German bonds which would otherwise go to France, Belgium and Italy, and Belgian priority was to be abolished. As a result of all the transactions Britain would get \$5,000,000,000 of the ultimate German payments, the French some \$3,000,000,000, while the balance would go to the Belgians, the Italians getting nothing.

Observe now what has happened. France at Paris in 1919 was recognized to be entitled to \$8,000,000,000, or 75 per cent. of reparations based upon war damages. After inflation to include war pensions the French total was raised to \$17,000,000,000. Now by the Paris proposal of the British in 1923 it was reduced to \$3,000,000,000. While it is true that this British proposal included the elimination of the inter-allied debts so far as Britain was concerned, it left France with \$3,000,000,000 to pay the United States, that is, a sum just equal to the French share in reparations as reduced.

As a consequence, France would be left to bear the costs of her war devastations alone, Italy would be left with no German payments and with her debt of upwards of \$3,000,000,000 to the United States and her own ruins to reconstruct. Belgium would be deprived of her priority, and receive only a sum sufficient to meet currency and debt questions created by German occupation, having thus to pay her costs of reconstruction and her debt to America.

The British, on the other hand, would get at once the French and Italian gold reserves, while preventing the French from making any like seizure in Germany, and they would get from Germany eventually a sum sufficient to meet their debt to America. Having no war devastations, they would then emerge with no other debts than those incident to the war itself, that is, the costs of the war.

Such a plan was, of course, totally impossible. The French, Italians and Belgians looked with dismay upon the British proposal because it did not offer the smallest basis even for discussion. It coolly asserted British claims to all the tangible assets, to the lion's share of a reduced reparations total, and it left the Continental nations in debt to the United States and without any hope of German reparations to rebuild their own ruins.

Now it is essential that Americans should see the British proposal as it was, for otherwise they will be led into the error of believing that France, Italy and Belgium deliberately rejected a reasonable proposal for an unreasonable exercise of force. And, again, I emphasize the fact that, whatever any one has charged against France, no one has intimated that the Belgians are imperialistic or militaristic. Therefore, their rejection of the British proposal represents calm judgment and is a fair basis for impartial valuation of the proposal itself.

What was the explanation of the course of the British in making proposals which were bound to be rejected? There are a variety of possible answers. The most cynical envisages a British recognition that in the end German competition will be more disastrous than German prostration, so far as British industry is concerned. The least unkind suggests that the British were convinced that French action could only be prevented by British concessions out of proportion to British capacity or willingness, and therefore, the best thing to do was to

step aside after having made a formal proposal, doomed in advance to rejection. I shall return to this detail in a moment. Now I desire to discuss the American relation.

III. THE AMERICAN GESTURE

While the Conference of Paris was gathering, Mr. Hughes went to New Haven and made a speech which disclosed the official attitude of our government. His hand had evidently been forced by a resolution introduced in the Senate by Mr. Borah calling for a conference to deal with the European situation—a conference to be held in Washington and patently modeled upon that of the limitation of naval armaments. This resolution had been withdrawn, after an interesting debate, at the express request of the Administration Senators, who explained that the State Department had already been putting out feelers in Europe.

Mr. Hughes at New Haven proposed a conference. He did not suggest that it be held in Washington, but he indicated that its function should be to fix the sum of German reparations and the terms of payment. What the Secretary of State obviously aimed at was getting reparations before a committee of financial experts and thus getting it out of politics.

Having made this proposal, and to this extent pledging us to exercise our good offices, Mr. Hughes went on to indicate very clearly that American public opinion was utterly opposed to the exercise of force. Within the limits of friendly diplomacy Mr. Hughes went as far as he could to ask the French, if the Paris Conference failed, to refrain from the occupation of more German territory, and to put the whole question before financial experts.

This suggestion met with no favorable reception in France, for the very obvious reason that it only envisaged discussing the least important question, namely, the sum total of German reparations. But this sum was no longer in dispute, since at Paris all were agreed that the sum of what Germany could pay was recognized to be around \$10,000,000,000 or \$12,000,000,000. There was no break-up at Paris based upon difference over the capacity of Germany to pay any particular sum.

The method Mr. Hughes proposed did not and could not go to the root of the matter. Once German capacity to pay had

been fixed, once a German moratorium had been conceded, the question would rise: How was German payment eventually to be assured? Here we had nothing to propose, relying solely upon world opinion and the assumption of German good faith.

Moreover, while we were thus intervening in such fashion as to save Germany from further occupation and to insure a reduction of reparations to a possible sum, we were insisting squarely upon payment to us by Continental nations without regard to their capacity. That is to say, we were insisting that what Germany owed France, Italy and Belgium should be based upon German capacity as fixed by international experts, but we were not suggesting that what these Continental nations should pay us should be submitted to the same examination.

Yet, in point of fact, if German reparations were reduced to \$10,000,000,000, this sum would be below the amount Europe owes us, which exceeds \$11,000,000,000. We were, then, maintaining that what Germany could pay should be fixed internationally, but what our recent associates could pay us should remain undisturbed and above the examination of any international commission of experts.

Moreover, and the point is vital, we were not suggesting that in the discussion of what Germany could pay, there should be a discussion also of the allocation of the payments—that, for example, the nations which had been invaded and ravaged, should be entitled to receive the larger part of German reparations. There was no hint that we recognized that there was a distinction between war pensions and war devastations.

Further than this, a great misapprehension has been created by the suggestion that Mr. Hughes's proposal envisaged helping Europe. We offered no help. We proposed no contribution beyond that of advice. We did suggest a means of reducing the Allied bill against Germany to conform to possibilities, but we did not make the smallest suggestion of a reduction of our bill against our associates. On the contrary, we expressly asserted that this should be maintained undiminished and without regard to capacity of our debtor.

Naturally, the French paid little heed to such a proposal. On the other hand, the Germans, reading in it our disapproval of French action, were encouraged to refrain

from making any proposal which might have met with serious consideration. They offered nothing and waited in the expectation that, sooner or later, British and American opposition to French policies would lead to intervention by the two Anglo-Saxon nations.

As for the British, my judgment is that the wholly unacceptable character of the Bonar Law proposal at Paris was the direct outcome of Mr. Hughes's speech. This speech notified the British that America was against French action. It demonstrated in advance that American public opinion was not going to pay much attention to what the British proposed at Paris, and no matter how impossible the British proposal actually was would still have its eyes fixed disapprovingly upon French action.

In addition it indicated that, as the Borah Resolution had already suggested, American isolation was becoming unpopular at home, that Americans in increasing numbers were becoming disturbed about the prospective dislocation of their foreign markets and were demanding that their government do something. Thus the British concluded that sooner or later the Harding Administration would be forced to act and it appreciated the fact that America could really do nothing useful until it was prepared to make some positive contributions.

When that time came the British would be able to divide with the United States the expense of bringing the Continental nations round to an Anglo-Saxon viewpoint. But nothing could be done as long as the United States refused to consider the question of cancellation or scaling down of foreign debts. You put it pretty accurately, I think, if you say that the British diagnosed the American situation as one in which, sooner or later, public opinion would force official action, and it appreciated that no action would amount to anything until it was accompanied by some concrete contribution other than advice.

If there had been no Borah Resolution and no Hughes speech, if there had been no obvious anxiety in the United States based upon an accurate appreciation of American commercial interests which were likely to be compromised, I think the Bonar Law proposal at Paris might have been much more reasonable, unless, after all, German prostration is actually desired by British statesmen.

As it was, the British saw us disturbed. They saw that it was becoming politically awkward for the Harding Administration to keep to complete isolation. And they decided to let this country have a very concrete illustration of the effects of a policy of complete isolation as translated into terms of economic consequences.

At the same time they were by no means unwilling that the French should acquire official and popular disapproval in America by military action; and quite accurately calculated that the presence of their own debt commission in Washington and its proposal to pay, would further inure to the advantage of Britain in American eyes, and to the disadvantage of the Continental nations in general and of France in particular.

But no one more clearly than the British recognized that while Mr. Hughes talked of American aid he offered none, and that until America was ready to contribute Britain had to choose between buying France off alone and stepping aside.

IV. RECALLING THE TROOPS

Despite our gesture, events followed their natural course. The Reparations Commission met in Paris; and France, Italy and Belgium voted Germany in voluntary default. Britain opposed this view and voted against it. The American representative, Mr. Boyden, also opposed the decision of the majority by speech but not by vote, since he was not authorized to serve as a regular member but only as an observer.

The declaration of voluntary default automatically gave the creditors the right to move against Germany, under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Such action was at once prepared and was designed to take the form of the occupation of the Ruhr, the great industrial region of Germany, the source of most of her wealth.

The purpose of the operation was twofold—to collect such money as might be possible and such coal supplies as might be necessary, since, technically, German default had been in coal, and in addition to make clear to the Germans that if they continued their policy of evasion the result would be the application of force.

In this exercise of force the British had no part. They opposed it openly in Paris through their new Prime Minister. They ostentatiously dissociated themselves from

the principle and the practice of the French. But it was reserved for the United States to make the sensation. When at last it became perfectly clear that France would move into the Ruhr, the Senate adopted a resolution demanding, and the President ordered, the repatriation of our forces in Europe. The last stage in the American adventure in Europe was thus transformed into a condemnation of French policy.

Unfortunately, the official action had a connotation in Europe different from that of America. Very far from exercising any restraining influence upon the French Government, it consolidated all save the Communists in the French Chamber behind Poincaré. It gave him a strength lacking before, and it unhappily created the impression in France that American policy was dominated by exclusive regard for American material interests and concern for the political influence of the German elements in the United States.

Thus it not only deprived the American action of any moral significance at the moment, but in addition it reduced greatly, if it did not permanently abolish, any future American influence. It was a repetition of precisely what happened when Mr. Wilson in late 1916, anxious to bring an end to the European conflict, made his speech which included the phrase "peace without victory."

The effect of the phrase was to convince the Allies that the President was pro-German, but at the same time it did not in any degree satisfy the Germans, who looked for something far more concrete. Now Mr. Hughes's action not only aroused French resentment, but it contributed to encouraging the Germans to resist French action, in the hope that we should intervene in their behalf. All chance that Germany would make a possible proposal was thus destroyed.

The actual effect, and I am dealing only with the European reaction, of Mr. Hughes's second gesture, was to destroy American influence in France and Belgium, to encourage the Germans to make no proposal, and thus to insure the French action. In a word, our diplomacy, which had sought to lessen, had actually rendered more acute the international situation.

If American policy were confined to the desire to pursue a course of isolation pure and simple, to get out of Europe, to resign

all opportunity to exercise influence in the future, to establish a complete neutrality between those who had been our allies and those who had been our enemies, the manner in which we had chosen to withdraw our troops and the moment we selected for withdrawal achieved this purpose. But if it was designed to contribute to avoiding a European crisis, it had failed.

The British policy was quite different. The British dissociated themselves from the use of force, but they did not withdraw their troops and they did not undertake any official action to express displeasure. Their relations with the French were not disturbed, at least superficially, by a difference in opinion as to the proper line of action, nor did they deny the right of the French and the Belgians to act as seemed to them best.

This policy enables the British to resume negotiations and participation if they see fit. If, for example, the French do make the adventure pay, the British can come back; if the French fail, they can then come forward with suggestions which will not necessarily be rejected. Moreover, the British passivity avoids an Anglo-French break which might be fatal to British interests in the Near East and end the Lausanne Conference abruptly.

While we remained on the Rhine we exercised a restraining influence upon the French. Designs to bring about the separation of the Rhineland from Germany were blocked by the mere presence of General Allen. Now that the French have replaced our troops and hold the left bank of the Rhine from Switzerland down to the Cologne bridgehead, such a policy can be employed without interference.

In reality, then, while our abrupt withdrawal did not restrain the French and did destroy our moral influence with all our Continental allies, one of its worst consequences will be felt by the Germans, who frankly acknowledged our presence as a protection to themselves. It is hard to escape the conviction, therefore, that in the end the step taken in obvious disapproval of France may prove far more disastrous to the Germans.

Except for the Cologne bridgehead held by a very small British force, all the left bank of the Rhine has now passed into French control. That it will ever be evacuated until such time as Germany has met French conditions in the matter of repara-

tions, I do not believe. That if Germany continues to resist payment, the Rhineland will be separated from Germany first by economic barriers and perhaps later by the creation of some Rhenish republic, is far from improbable.

Thus our policy has played directly into the hands of the French militarists. It has led to the completion of the French occupation of the left bank of the Rhine—the thing which Foch demanded and Wilson opposed at Paris. It has similarly in the French Parliament weakened the position of those who oppose Poincaré. Perhaps there is a certain accidental justice in all this, for it was Mr. Wilson's promise of a military guarantee to France which persuaded Clemenceau to renounce the Rhine barrier, while it is Mr. Hughes's maneuver which enables the French to realize this demand four years later, after the guarantee has been denied. But certainly this was no part of American design as I see it.

For better or for worse, however, we are now out of Europe. We have retired; and, so far as France and Belgium are concerned, any later attempt will be regarded with suspicion. Moreover, the three nations which agreed at Paris in declaring the German default are the nations with whom we continue to discuss the subject of allied debts. But it is essential to perceive that our action will affect their attitude toward our claims, for in the last analysis they will pay us only as Germany pays them.

Since we have declined to share in the operation to collect, and have even opposed by gesture the exercise of force to collect, thus perhaps making actual collection impossible and certainly encouraging German resistance, they are hardly likely to make any satisfactory proposal to fund or discharge their debts to us in any near future, if at all.

In my own judgment the war debts, save for the British, may now be regarded as out of the discussion so far as Continental Europe is concerned, with this exception—we may be permitted to give advice in the matter of Germany, provided we accompany our advice with the offer to cancel the debts.

So far as the Continental nations are concerned, these debts were always regarded as a second lien upon Germany, to be met after Germany had paid for the reconstruction of the devastated areas. But there is no chance now that Germany

will even pay enough to rebuild the French, Belgian and Italian ruins. So discussion of a second lien becomes academic.

V. WHAT IS COMING?

I have so far laid emphasis upon the American aspect because it seems to me there has been vast confusion between the purpose and the effect of American action. What we have done has had two meanings—one for Europe, another for the United States, and there has not been one single point in common between the two views. It remains now to discuss the prospects for the immediate future.

We are in the presence of what amounts to an act of war, since the Franco-Belgian action, while strictly legal, is not less an invasion. The question of whether Germany ultimately resists by force or passively, does not change the situation in principle, although it can change it utterly in fact.

We are satisfied that the Germans will resist, either passively or violently. In either case the resistance will limit, if it does not abolish, the collection by France and Belgium of reparations in kind. Given the German state of mind, passive resistance may be transformed into active fighting at any moment. As long as the French stay in the Ruhr the possibility of real conflict will be unmistakable.

But the Germans are not in a position to fight a war as they were in 1914. Thus resistance will naturally have a more or less unorganized character. The consequence of violent resistance could easily be the transformation of the Ruhr into precisely the economic waste which was created by German military operations in the North of France. Such a transformation would mean the ruin of modern Germany, for while France is mainly an agricultural nation Germany is almost exclusively industrial.

There is a belief, particularly in American circles, that the occupation of the Ruhr will be brief, will be disclosed as a bad venture and presently abandoned, and that then the French will see the wisdom of our advice and the folly of their ways and come hat in hand to us for guidance. But it seems to me more likely that, if the thing does not immediately prove successful, reasons will be found which, so far from entailing evacuation, will lead to an extension of occupation and a hardening of conditions.

It is more likely, I believe, that French occupation may lead the Germans, and particularly the industrial and financial magnates, to back down and force their government to make reasonable proposals accompanied by satisfactory guarantees. In that case, the French occupation may be terminated without great delay and with no real material loss. This is what the French themselves hope for and profess to expect.

Undoubtedly this might have been the outcome had the United States not intervened and had the British supported French policy. But the American and British courses have manifestly encouraged the German to resist rather than to pay. And it seems to me, on the whole, not very likely that there will be any satisfactory German proposal, and therefore, that we are in for a long French occupation.

You must perceive, however, that if the French get little, if the German passive resistance lessens production, or even paralyzes it, the first discomfort will fall upon the Germans. As the coal production is reduced, the French share will increase and German factories and German industry will suffer. If the workmen strike they will starve, for the control of the food supplies will be in French hands.

German resistance, then, in blocking France may lead to the ruin of German economic prospects without actually leading at once to the destruction of the Ruhr district—such a destruction as would follow open resistance of a military character. Yet it seems to me that as German suffering increases as a consequence of German passive resistance to French purpose, there will be a growing danger of a transformation to a resistance born of desperation and expressed in violence.

I do not mean to say that this is certain. Perhaps it is not even probable. But it is precisely the circumstance I fear. The German people, the masses, have been ruthlessly exploited by their own industrialists, who have sold the product of German labor abroad and deposited the payments in foreign countries. As a consequence the German people have suffered and have been made to believe that the real cause was not the policy of their own leaders but the consequence of brutal French exactions.

To-day Germany is a smouldering fire of hatred of France. And there is no strong government to hold in check this passion,

until such time as it might express itself in some successful revolt. To-day a war would be fought in German territory. The Germans would lack most of what is necessary to make war in these times, and their great industrial regions would be laid in waste, because battles fought with heavy artillery are destructive beyond any limit.

Whether the German people were able in the end to drive the French across the Rhine or not, before the French retired behind this barrier they would have wrecked the Ruhr and would still hold much of it, together with Frankfort and many other cities under the fire of their guns. They would be compelled to destroy the Ruhr because to-day war is mechanical before it is anything else, and if Germany could regain the Ruhr she might presently make successful war, while without it she would be helpless.

Moreover, if Germany attacks the French, then Poland will automatically move against Germany in accordance with her treaty, and in all probability Czechoslovakia would be forced to take a similar step. For a restored Germany would instantly abolish this little Slav island in the German sea. But if Poland moved, Russia might stir; and Russian action might involve Rumania, Hungary, Austria, and Jugoslavia.

We are, then, back in the days of July, 1914, when it must be recognized that there is a complete interrelation of things. A fire along the Ruhr might easily spread to the Vistula, the Niemen, the Danube, the Golden Horn. Indeed, were it not for one single fact, the situation might now be as desperate as in the days before the World War itself.

This fact is the general exhaustion of European mankind. If we avoid a catastrophe it will be exhaustion rather than statesmanship which makes the escape possible. People are tired, weakened, incapable of great effort and freed of any illusions. Yet over against exhaustion one must place the factor of desperation. Desperation has led the French people to sanction an action by their government which may conceivably lead to a new war. Desperation may lead the German people to take matters out of the hands of their government and attempt violent resistance to French exactions. If the Germans do this, there is no man alive who can tell where the ensuing struggle will end.

Looking to the future, as I have indi-

cated, I do not believe that France will come back from the Ruhr empty-handed and admitting her mistake. On the contrary, I believe that France will stay in the Ruhr until she is driven out or Germany makes some reasonable proposal. Neither the United States nor Great Britain can persuade the French to leave by mere advice and counsel.

Before the Germans can drive the French out, the struggle which would be provoked would destroy the Ruhr as an economic element in Germany. While the French hold it they will have a stranglehold upon Germany and German resistance, even though passive, will interrupt the flow of Ruhr coal to German industry.

In a word, as long as the French stay in the Ruhr, world peace hangs by a hair; but France cannot be brought out of the Ruhr save as Germany brings forward a satisfactory proposal. And this proposal is duly accompanied by guarantees. We are actually dealing with a Franco-German War in a new phase.

If Germany were confronting France and Great Britain and the United States were unconcerned, I am certain she would surrender, for she cannot resist alone. The trouble is that the attitude we and the British have taken makes her believe that in the end we shall force France to let up before Germany has paid. But my judgment is that we will not use force to compel France, nor will the British, and only force can compel France to retire ahead of German capitulation. Hence we Anglo-Saxon nations are actually contributing to bringing about German ruin.

VI. REMEDIES

When one has analyzed a situation like that which to-day exists, he is inevitably faced with the question, What can be done about it? Specifically the question in American minds is, What can the United States do about it?

Obviously, the United States can do nothing, so long as it insists upon a policy of complete isolation. The time is never coming when the European nations will turn to us as an impartial arbitrator and ask us to become receiver for Europe.

Nor can it do anything if it continues to argue that reparations have no connection with Allied debts, and that while we advise the reduction of reparations we deny all

arguments bearing upon the reduction of war debts. I do not question the exact justice of our contention. I do not believe we are morally bound to cancel any debts, nor that we should listen to any other consideration than our own self-interest.

But if Europe is to go through another war, if there is to be a new Continental catastrophe, then it is certain that our debts, that is, our claims upon Europe, will not be worth very much and it is similarly certain that the European market, which has an obvious present and future value, will also disappear.

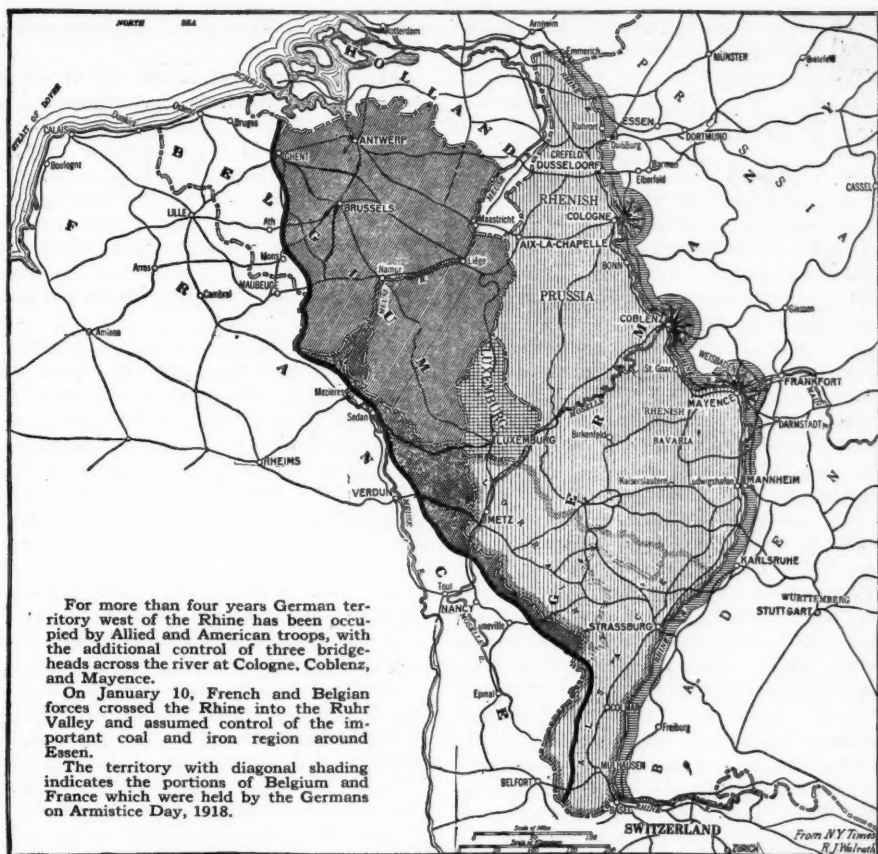
We cannot persuade Europe to attend an economic conference to deal with reparations alone. We have tried that. We might still be able to bring about a conference to discuss reparations and allied debts. Now that the British are making arrangements with us to pay us as they can, and mean to, it might be possible to join with them in a comprehensive program of cancellation of European debts and reduction of German reparations.

Such a policy which fixed German reparations at, say, \$10,000,000,000 and restored the percentages fixed by our representatives at Paris, namely, a division based upon actual property losses due to war devastations, might lead to a useful result. In return for our concessions we and the British could demand the evacuation of Germany by French, Belgian and British troops, while the payment of reparations might be turned over to international finance operating through loans made to Germany, that is, on German credit, and divided between the French and German governments.

Perhaps Europe would not agree to such a proposal. Perhaps the British would reject it out of hand as entailing too great British sacrifice. But, so far as I can see, there is no possibility of any adjustment as long as Germany is not required to rebuild the French, Belgian and Italian ruins, and if she is required to do that, there is no chance of her paying any additional sums.

We have no other key to the European door than the possession of the Allied notes for war loans. If Europe collapses now, the notes are worthless. The chances of collapse are increasing, not diminishing. Moreover, if the collapse comes, we shall lose good markets as well as what seem to me bad debts.

If we do not care to use the key, if we think our interests would be better served



by keeping the notes and letting the markets follow the value of the notes, that is our right. But in adopting such a course we automatically eliminate ourselves from the European situation. We can no longer speak usefully, much less act. The one thing we cannot do is to contribute to a settlement based solely upon reparations, while Europe refuses to separate reparations from debts and continues to act in such a way as to make the debts of little value anyway.

As I see it, the question is the relative value of war or peace in Europe to the United States. This must be the basis of our policy, but the policy cannot be half isolation and half participation—*isolation* so far as acts are concerned and *participation* so far as advice is in the question. We cannot impose an American solution upon the Continental countries merely by thumping the table or quoting appropriate references.

Left to itself, it seems to me there is very

good reason to believe that Europe will collapse. Danger of such a collapse does not constitute a reason for American action unless we have interests at stake which are worth saving. The worst delusion now is that which consists in the assertion that America is offering help to Europe, that is, that the American Government has proffered help. It has offered nothing save recommendations which from the European point of view are by themselves wholly unacceptable.

To believe that these suggestions will be more acceptable a few weeks or months hence is, in my view, a mistake, because every day the value of advice lessens in a situation where concrete facts are becoming more potent. To me Europe seems on the edge of a catastrophe more complete than anything that has happened since the fall of the Roman Empire. A new war may mean the collapse of European civilization. Given this possibility, it is perhaps wise to

quit Europe, but is it quite sure that, in the event of the collapse, the consequences will stop at the Atlantic?

VII. THE FIRST PHASE

As I re-read the foregoing pages on January 15, the first phase of the French occupation has come to an end. This occupation has been accompanied by no disorders, but the progress of events in the German Reichstag has demonstrated that German resistance must be expected. Moreover, the coal operators, by removing their chiefs and their machinery from the Ruhr district, have enormously handicapped the French. On the other hand, there is no suggestion of a general strike and an agreement has been reached between the French officers and mine operators for the continued production of coal.

There have been, too, vague suggestions from Paris of a new proposal for an international conference and there has been a definite concession to the Germans in the way of ten days of grace to meet the payments due on January 15. But neither the one nor the other of these incidents has any profound significance, for the French have already taken action on other German defaults and there is little more that they could do beyond formally declaring still another German default, since they have already seized the Ruhr.

The ten days' grace really means an indirect offer to the Germans of an opportunity to come forward with some new reparations proposal. This, as I have tried to make clear, and not the idea of making money out of the occupation of the Ruhr, is the real hope of the French. They have resorted to coercion not mainly to get reparations, but rather to bring the Germans to terms. They have believed that under pressure the Germans would surrender.

The trouble is that American and British actions have manifestly encouraged the Germans to resist, and to refrain from making any such proposals. And it would seem that for the moment at least Germany will continue this policy of passive resistance. As for an international conference, it would consider only the question of German pay-

ments, for the French will not now consent to leave the Ruhr.

My own judgment is that we are in for a long period of French occupation, with all that this means of menace to world peace, unless there is a very complete German surrender and even then France will clearly retain the right to occupy the Ruhr again, if Germany defaults. The whole situation turns now upon the negotiations which may take place between France and Germany and upon the sort of proposals the Germans make.

Believing that the German proposals will not be satisfactory, I am convinced that French occupation may be indefinite and that the consequence will be a slow or a swift disintegration of the German industrial situation. You cannot have peace in Europe while the French are in the Ruhr. You cannot have economic recovery while the industrial center of Germany is under military control.

But you cannot get rid of the occupation except on terms satisfactory to the French. The one dominant fact is that both Great Britain and the United States have retired from the situation and no longer have even moral influence upon France. On her side France has the coöperation of Belgium, the consent of Italy, and in case of German resistance is assured of the military aid of Poland and probably of Czechoslovakia.

This means that the Continent has taken things into its own hands, that Germany is ringed around by enemies, and that it is no longer possible for Great Britain or the United States to mitigate her sentence. Germany may make terms with France. If she does we shall have peace, but if she refuses France will stay indefinitely in the Ruhr and the whole European economic system will disintegrate with inevitable political disorders and ultimate anarchy and chaos.

Moreover, if you will glance at Lausanne, you will perceive the Turkish reading of events, and the extent to which the Turk estimates European coöperation has been shattered. At the moment Lausanne is perhaps the best barometer on which to read European conditions and the reading is, to say the least, not reassuring.



NINE EASTERN GOVERNORS AND THEIR PROGRAMS

BY ALBERT SHAW

OF OUR total sisterhood of forty-eight States, as many as thirty-two inaugurated Governors last month. All of these were elected in November with the exception of Governor Baxter of Maine, who was chosen in September. The Governor of Georgia, although elected last November, will not take his seat until June. It is our purpose in successive articles to call some attention to State problems and policies, from the standpoint of the men who have thus recently been called to serve as Governors by the people of their respective States. In the November election of members of the national House of Representatives and of the United States Senate, party issues were naturally conspicuous, and we have already discussed the significance of the November elections in their bearings upon affairs centering at Washington.

But under our federal system, each State has its own public questions to deal with. And in election years when the Presidency is not at stake we are likely to find candidates for the higher State offices making their campaigns on matters that relate to the State itself, rather than questions that pertain to the National Government.

At the present time there may be observed from one end of the country to the other a marked quickening of purely State activities. We have left the pioneer days behind us; and our States have settled down to the business of intensive improvement of their facilities and their institutions, on mature lines. All of these States were formerly agricultural as regards the great majority of the people. But in recent times, taking the country as a whole, the cities have become predominant. The municipal corporations have so learned the art of city government that they have created for all their people improved schools, good streets, and common services of water, drainage, lighting, police, fire protection, and health conservation. Taken

altogether, these and other advantages make life highly comfortable and agreeable for town dwellers, when compared with the conditions that exist in many of the rural districts.

There is now visible a marked tendency everywhere in the country to use the authority and power of the State itself to help in extending to the farm neighborhoods and the open country many of the benefits that the municipal corporations have been supplying to those who dwell within town limits. In our opinion, this is a thoroughly statesmanlike policy, and it is to be hoped that the Governors may lead and the legislatures may follow in adopting measures of sweeping reform for the benefit of the farm communities.

In order that the States may render the services that are now demanded of them, they are facing the need of much larger incomes than in former years. Thus the problems of taxation are undergoing study in many States, and there is everywhere a demand for businesslike expenditure, and the elimination of waste and graft and of the undue influence of the political boss and the office-seeking party henchman.

Speaking in general, the States have been fortunate in finding excellent men to serve them as Governors; and it is the duty of every good citizen, regardless of party, to take an active interest in supporting Governors who are working for the progress of their States. There are many things that can be done at Washington to further the common welfare; but, after all, the fathers of this Republic were wise in believing that large ranges of everyday affairs could be managed better by the governments of the several States than by centralized national agencies.

The Federal Government has a tendency to aggrandize itself, and to exaggerate its own ability to serve the interests of the people in their ordinary relations. On the other hand, the cities have a tendency to

devitalize the State as a whole by the magnetic force with which they attract the people and the taxable resources, and by their exercise locally of functions that the State ought never to have abdicated. Thus public health and education are matters of state-wide concern, and do not belong to the municipal corporation as such.

There is some evidence that the State is beginning to reassert itself, as between these two powerful forces that have been drawing upon its vitality from opposite directions.

MAINE'S GOVERNOR HAS A CHALLENGING PROGRAM

An excellent representative of the modern Governor, who believes in his State and its capacity for progress, is Percival P. Baxter,



PERCIVAL P. BAXTER
(Maine)

of Maine. Governor Baxter was born in Portland forty-six years ago; is a graduate of Bowdoin College and the Harvard Law School; has been a practising lawyer for more than twenty years. He has served in both houses of the State legislature, and as president of the Senate it devolved upon him to fill out the unexpired term

of Governor Parkhurst, who died in January, 1921.

Last September, Governor Baxter was elected on his own account by a normal Republican majority. He delivered his message to the Maine legislature on January 4, and we could do no better than to give a list of the principal topics and chief proposals with which this document concerned itself. Here are twenty-two points, which suggest the sort of program that Governor Baxter is holding up before the people of his State as items in a State-wide policy at the present time:

(1) Better enforcement of and more respect for law; (2) Reduction of taxation and strict economy in matters large and small; (3) Encouragement of small farm operators; (4) Improved marketing conditions for farm products; (5) Better opportunities for rural school children; (6) A halt called in expenditure of public money on private institutions; (7) All State officials to devote entire time to

State's business; (8) Better roads and only one more highway bond issue; build only as fast as roads can be maintained; (9) A religion of loyalty to the State; (10) Make the individual self-reliant; no State paternalism; (11) Better and simpler form of State's bookkeeping, so all can understand the figures; (12) Less expensive bridge construction, and savings in highway overhead and engineering expenses; (13) Proper care of State's dependents and defectives, especially the children; (14) Better health; State to lead in teaching it; (15) Keep Maine's water powers for Maine's people, and build State storage reservoirs to conserve the State's water resources; (16) Protect forests from fires, and provide proper taxation of timberlands; (17) Katahdin State Park; destined to be Maine's scenic and recreational center; (18) Encouragement of salt water fisheries so as to feed New York and New England; (19) Live within State's means and forego all luxuries; (20) Retention of direct primary; (21) Abolish old-time corrupt legislative lobbies; (22) Go slow on Federal aid, so as to maintain State's independence.

Maine has sent out many energetic pioneers to help in the westward growth of the country; but there is ample opportunity in Maine itself for many decades of prosperous development of local resources. Governor Baxter makes a stirring appeal.

SIMPLIFYING VERMONT'S MACHINERY

If Vermont is one of the smallest States of the Union, it is also one of the most influential and highly respected. The new Governor is Redfield Proctor, of the town of Proctor, famous for its marble industries. The Governor's father was the late Senator Proctor, and the family has been long identified not only with the business interests of the State but also with every movement that tests what we call public spirit. Few men could have been better trained than the new Governor for the work of his office. In a recent letter he tells us that Vermont, like many other States, is now proposing to simplify the machinery of Government, and to do away with "a lot of small departments, boards, and commissions, putting the whole thing on a more businesslike basis."

Mr. Proctor was



REDFIELD PROCTOR
(Vermont)

elected upon a brief, model platform demanding (1) A simplified administrative organization; (2) A reduction of the direct State tax; (3) The executive budget plan; (4) Advance preparation for legislative work; (5) A revision of the taxes on motor-driven vehicles; (6) A gasoline tax to be applied to the maintenance and improvement of the surface of highways; (7) Restoration of local functions to the towns themselves; (8) Revision of laws relating to the control of public utilities; and (9) Regulation of lobbying, with proper publicity. This would suggest the spirit with which the new executive enters upon his duties.

Governor Proctor is thoroughly alive to the needs of agricultural communities. He is even younger than the Governor of Maine, being only forty-three years of age. He was educated in Washington and afterwards at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He was chairman of the Vermont Red Cross at the opening of the war period, but resigned to enter the military service as a Captain of Engineers.

NEW HAMPSHIRE'S DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE

The New Governor of New Hampshire is Hon. Fred H. Brown, and he was elected as a Democrat to succeed a Republican Governor who was also named Brown. The new Governor is a lawyer, and was made United States District Attorney for New Hampshire by President Wilson. His victory at the polls was due largely to the support of the strikers in the textile mills, on account of the Democratic platform's plank advocating the forty-eight-hour week, while the manufacturers had been trying to reestablish the fifty-four-hour week. The State Senate remains Republican, while the Democrats have a slight majority in the lower house.

Governor Brown was at one time, for a short period, a professional baseball player while he was studying law in Boston; and he is now only forty-three years old. New Hampshire has a larger legislature than any other State, owing to its method of representation. While there are only twenty-four members of the Senate, there are 417 Representatives. In the present lower house, there are eighty-nine farmers, seventy-six business men, forty-one mill operatives, and only thirty-two lawyers. Besides these groups, there are listed

twenty manufacturers, seventeen lumbermen, fourteen contractors, twenty-one railroad men, twenty-eight artisans, twenty-three office employees, eleven electricians, seventeen retired, eight clergymen, eight bankers, and a few men of various other callings. There are also three women in the House. It would seem that the retiring Governor has set the standards for



FRED H. BROWN
(New Hampshire)

New Hampshire in a valedictory address showing a remarkable grasp of the State's affairs. The New Hampshire practice of a farewell speech by the retiring Governor is in our opinion a thing worthy of commendation. The retiring Governor is a man of positive convictions, and his farewell address discussed State issues with noteworthy force and ability.

It was on January 3 that the retiring Governor Brown (Albert O.) offered his review of New Hampshire's administrative affairs, and it was on the following day that the new Governor Brown (Fred H.) came forward with his inaugural message. Conspicuous was his demand for immediate enactment of the forty-eight-hour week for women and children. He declared:

For nine months last year three sections of the State, which are ordinarily among the most prosperous, as well as the most populous, sections of New Hampshire, were tied up in one of the most disastrous industrial struggles in our history. . . . When their strike showed signs of failure, the workers did not resort to lawlessness and violence. They took up their work again on whatever terms they could make and resorted to the polls in November. Never have the General Court and the elected members of the State Administration been given a clearer mandate, and we cannot believe that the textile workers alone were instrumental in giving that mandate. . . .

In my opinion, a law establishing a 48-hour week for women and children in manufacturing industries should be enacted at this session. From a humanitarian standpoint it is necessary. From a financial standpoint I believe it feasible. And that our New Hampshire industries will be able to secure a fair return on their investment, I am confident. From any unprejudiced angle it appears right!

The address advocated the regrouping of some of the State departments, more complete

home rule for towns and cities, and, in short, an up-to-date program of improvement in the mechanism of State and local government. Prominence in the message was given to the subject of tax-law revision. The abolition of the women's poll tax is demanded, an increase in inheritance taxes, and a tax of one cent a gallon on gasoline. Rural problems receive attention as in the messages of all other Governors this year; and a larger appropriation is demanded for dealing with animal tuberculosis.

MASSACHUSETTS GIVES GOV. COX ANOTHER TERM

Massachusetts is always disposed to give a second term to a Governor who serves the Commonwealth well—and it is to be noted that most Massachusetts Governors are deemed worthy of reelection. Governor Channing H. Cox, who was born in New Hampshire and graduated at Dartmouth before taking his law course at Harvard, has now entered his second term as Governor, having carried the State as a Republican by a large majority. He has been a practising lawyer in Boston for about eighteen years. Like a number of his predecessors, he served ably in the lower house of the legislature, where he was Speaker for three successive years; was then promoted to be Lieutenant-Governor; and in his turn succeeded to the highest State office. He will not be forty-four years of age until next month.

Governor Cox well sustains the high traditions of intelligent and honorable public service in Massachusetts. In his case, we may expect that leadership will exert itself along the lines of policy that have been laid down during the past two years. Governor Cox has been good enough to write for us, in response to our request, a summary of what he regards as the important forward steps that Massachusetts has been taking during his service as Governor. This summary seems to us to indicate so admirably the progressive work that Massachusetts is still capable of doing, in the conduct of the affairs of the commonwealth, that we are glad to print it for the encouragement it may bring to men and

women in other States who are working for similar programs. The letter is as follows:

The legislature has adhered to the two executive budgets presented, and although more liberal appropriations than ever have been made for institutional work and for the care of the incapacitated and unfortunate, we have held strictly to a pay-as-you-go policy; have not issued any new bonds; have reduced the State debt \$10,000,000 and the past year reduced the State tax \$2,000,000.

Five of the leaders of business of the Commonwealth at my request made a complete survey of the State business, and as a result of their studies we have just organized a new department of government, the Commission on Administration and Finance, which provides for a modern method of State accounting, for a State central purchasing agency, for standardization of work of the various departments and for a more careful supervision of all those employed by the State and for a continuing study of methods to improve State administration.

I earnestly urged an improvement of our method of treating our criminal population, the abolition of county control and the assumption by the State of the control of all penal institutions. My plan was not adopted by the legislature, but a comprehensive investigation of all our institutions has been made and already great improvements have been instituted in most of the institutions.

Women have been admitted to participation in government on equal terms with men. All offices, appointive or elective, have been made open to them, and already women have been placed in positions of highest responsibility, notably as members of the Department of Labor and Industries and of the Industrial Accident Commission.

The law limiting the employment of women and children to forty-eight hours per week has been extended into new lines of industry.

Upon my inaugural recommendation, a definite policy has been established requiring each department to present a program covering five years of development, so that the legislature when authorizing appropriations could realize how each individual improvement fitted in with the general needs of the Commonwealth.

The amount of State aid for schools and rural communities has been increased, and a new Division of Markets in the Department of Agriculture has been of great service to the farmers.

Upon my inaugural recommendation, Massachusetts has adopted a sane Blue Sky law which already gives promise of increased protection to small investors, without injuring the opportunity of interesting capital in legitimate enterprises.

The laws relating to the State control of banks and trust companies have been greatly strengthened.

During the next term I shall try further to improve the State finances; and while not curtailing the necessary functions of government, by preventing the duplication of work in the various departments, I shall attempt still further to reduce taxes.

A commission which I appointed has made an investigation of municipal finance and taxation



CHANNING H. COX
(Massachusetts)

and as a result of their studies I hope to ask the legislature for new laws which may carefully guard municipal expenditures and borrowings.

In the main, the general purpose of my next administration will be along the same lines as during the past two years.

It may be asserted with good reason that few recent Governors, East or West, have been able to set forth a more timely program for the bettering of State administration than Governor Cox expresses in the foregoing statement.

A BUSINESS MAN GOVERNS CONNECTICUT

The new Governor of Connecticut, Hon. Charles A. Templeton, elected at the head of the Republican ticket, is promoted from the office of Lieutenant-Governor, and is especially familiar with the affairs of the State. His message of January 3 is a state paper that is noteworthy for its clear statements and definite views. It deals firmly with the need of closely scrutinized expenditure, and of caution in expanding the functions of the State under existing conditions. He demands that Connecticut follow the example of a majority of the States in adopting a central purchasing system, and he makes useful suggestions regarding the improvement of the State's efforts for dependent and delinquent classes.

There is pertinent discussion of the increasing use of motor trucks, which wear out the free public highways, and which compete with railroads that furnish their own road-beds and pay heavy taxes. Automobile license fees in Connecticut now amount to \$3,500,000 a year, and this money is turned over to the Highway Department for maintenance and repairs. Governor Templeton presents these practical questions with unusual ability. He observes that of the farm products consumed in Connecticut four-fifths are produced outside of the State. The Governor himself is a Waterbury manufacturer, and he fully appreciates the importance of the extraordinary

industrial development of Connecticut. Nevertheless, he proposes a commission to study and report means by which to revive rural life and improve farming conditions.

There are frank and straightforward words about prohibition. Connecticut did not ratify the Eighteenth Amendment, and none of its representatives in Congress supported either the amendment or the Volstead Act. Subsequently, however, Connecticut enacted concurrent legislation for enforcement; and the Governor denounces the tendency to violate the prohibition laws. "If the law is distasteful," he remarks, "to the majority of the American people, it can eventually be changed; but, so long as it is with us, it should be properly enforced."

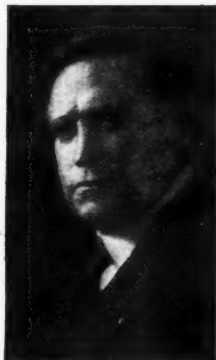


WILLIAM S. FLYNN
(Rhode Island)

RHODE ISLAND, AND THE LABOR VOTE

New England, in textiles and various other lines of manufacturing, is as highly industrialized as any other portion of the world. It is natural, therefore, to find that wage-earners play a great part in politics, and that labor questions are at the forefront. Rhode Island, like New Hampshire, in the recent elections, was carried by the Democrats largely on the strength of a resolute demand for the forty-eight hour day for women and children in factories. The more cautious opinion also prefers the short day, but it argues that New England must compete in the making of coarse textiles with the Southern mills, which work long hours. It seems that the Republicans took the less radical ground. Accordingly, the great Republican majority of 1920 was sweepingly overcome in November, 1922, by votes of the men and women of the mill towns. During the past year Massachusetts has been working on the forty-eight hour a week plan, and probably New England as a whole will accept this eight-hour day standard.

The new Democratic Governor of Rhode



C. A. TEMPLETON
(Connecticut)

Island, William S. Flynn, emphasizes this issue in his message. He is on the popular side, also, in the long-standing fight for abolition of property qualification for voting, and for an equitable redistricting of the State. He favors a constitutional convention to modernize the ancient organic law; but there is a good deal of Rhode Island sentiment that prefers to make changes by the adoption of particular amendments from time to time. Both houses of the legislature are Republican by small majorities.

NEW YORK, AND GOV. "AL." SMITH'S LEADERSHIP

Perhaps no Governor in recent years has entered upon his duties with so much acclaim as Hon. Alfred E. Smith, who has succeeded Governor Miller at Albany. Governor Smith's nomination was not of his own seeking, and it came under circumstances which secured for him the enthusiastic support of Democrats "up-State" as well as those of the metropolis, where he has long been a favorite. New York State is subject to landslides; and the new Governor prevailed in November by a plurality of almost 400,000. In the election of 1920, a Republican landslide had carried in Governor Miller, and had defeated Smith, who was then ending his first term in the executive chair, and running for a second.

Smith is only forty-nine years old; but he has had a long experience in New York City offices as well as at Albany, where he was in the legislature for many years and served for several years as Speaker of the Assembly. He now proposes a constitutional amendment that would extend the executive term from two years to four. This would probably be a wise change for New York. He would also reduce the number of elective State offices to three. He would group the many scores of State departments, commissions, and agencies into nineteen well coördinated executive divisions, each with a single head appointed by the Governor.

This reconstruction of the State government is as strongly supported by Republican leaders like Mr. Root and Mr. Hughes as by Mr. Smith. It ought by all means to

be carried through. It had been provided for in 1915 by a constitutional convention, over which Mr. Root presided. The work of that convention was rejected by popular vote.

There are some difficult questions pending in New York concerning the control of public utilities in the cities, particularly the transit system of the great metropolis. A larger measure of home rule for cities is favored by both parties; but the Democrats under Governor Smith's leadership propose to go farther in giving the cities exclusive control, and in authorizing them to operate as well as to own street railroads.

The State of New York now has a population of about eleven million, six million of whom live in the city of New York, and five million in all the rest of the cities and counties of the great Empire State. The extent to which the State government at Albany should keep control over the affairs of the municipal corporation of New York City is not so easy a question to deal with as might be supposed. The best theoretical solution is not at present within the field of practical discussion. That solution would be a division of New York into two States, separating the metropolis and the port, with some adjacent territory, in order to form the urban State of Manhattan.

The new legislature of New York is almost evenly divided between the parties. The Democrats have a majority of one vote in the Senate, and the Republicans control the Assembly by six votes. The Governor will not, therefore, carry his program into effect through partisan support, but only as his numerous measures win approval on sheer merit. The Hylan administration of New York City naturally urges municipal as against State control.

These issues are of such magnitude that the Governor gives them large place in his message. He advocates repeal of motion picture censorship and of certain other restrictive laws. He recommends minimum wage legislation, and the eight-hour day for women and children engaged in industry. An entire reorganization of the Agricultural Department with a single commissioner at its head is demanded. The Governor is an expert in all that relates to the development



ALFRED E. SMITH
(New York)

of the Port of New York, and he expounds the matured plans under which the States of New York and New Jersey are now co-operating. He advocates State ownership and control of the proposed development of water-power throughout New York. The message is an elaborate one, and it is written with clearness and vigor. Many of its recommendations will not now be carried into effect; but it provides the voters of the State with a conspectus of the great problems of material and social development and of administrative reform that must in due time be solved in one way or in another.

PENNSYLVANIA'S REFORM GOVERNOR

The new legislature of Pennsylvania met at Harrisburg and organized on January 2. The term of the Governor does not begin until January 16. Nevertheless, the Hon. Gifford Pinchot, Governor-elect, was evidently in personal control of the situation to a degree almost unprecedented in the history of the State. It is not merely that Mr. Pinchot is, conspicuously, a representative of political reform and so-called "good government"; but he is taking up his new responsibilities in Pennsylvania with discretion and tact as well as with firmness of purpose and strength of conviction.

Governor Pinchot is fifty-seven years of age. After graduating at Yale, he studied forestry in European countries and later became a leader in forestry and conservation work, both as a public official, and also as an author and a leader of public opinion. For more than twenty-five years he has been incessantly at work for public objects of the highest importance, and he reaches the influential post of Governor of Pennsylvania under conditions which give him the desired support of public opinion, and a welcome freedom from embarrassment by party bosses and machines. In a recent letter to the Editor of this magazine, Governor Pinchot declared, apropos of the work that lay ahead of him:

I want to see Pennsylvania stop appropriating money she has not got, and get back on the basis of pay-as-you-go; I want to see the State Government reorganized until it becomes an economical, up-to-

date machine for doing the business of the people; and I want to see the saloon driven out of our State and Pennsylvania made unhealthy for bootleggers, both high and low.

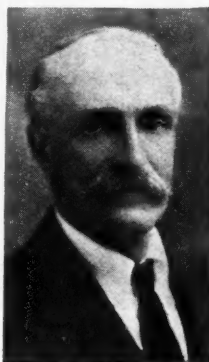
Mr. Pinchot's inaugural address, which was released for publication after it had been presented to the legislature at noon on Tuesday, January 16, proved to be shorter than that of most other Governors. But in directness, and in the qualities of political and moral courage, it stands out as a remarkable expression. It reveals the old-time Pinchot of high ideals, who, like Lincoln and Roosevelt, has gained in practical wisdom, through the ups and downs of experience in public life, without compromising essential principles.

Pennsylvania is a magnificent State, with a government that needs to be remodeled for the purposes of the Twentieth Century. First and foremost, Pinchot is determined to enforce existing laws; and he regards the present prohibition régime as one to be met squarely and honestly rather than with excuses for making it a byword. He proposes to put the State on a sound financial basis, and he seeks to reorganize the State Government, although he knows that this will take time and study. He realizes that he was elected to do the work of Governor, rather than to go about talking in response to invitations that come to him with the enhanced prestige of his triumph at the polls.

Governor Pinchot's message seems to us a document addressed not solely to Pennsylvania, but to all the thoughtful men and women of the United States who seek what is best in government and citizenship. We are, therefore, giving space elsewhere in this issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS to the Pinchot message in full, and we commend it as expressive of the true leadership that our States are seeking, and that others besides Pennsylvania have been fortunate in securing.

TRIUMPH OF THE "WETS" IN NEW JERSEY

In New Jersey, even as in New York, the currents of politics run so strongly that it is difficult for a leadership that thinks of



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GIFFORD PINCHOT
(Pennsylvania)

State progress in terms of the public welfare, and in a non-partisan way, to steer a successful course. The recent New Jersey election enhanced the personal prestige of Edward I. Edwards, the retiring Governor, who was elected to the United States Senate by an immense plurality of almost 90,000 votes. Governor Edwards has been so notably associated with the "Wet" agitation that the country as a whole, not pretending to be very well informed, has begun to think of New Jersey as a malaria-infested community which incessantly craves alcoholic drink.

As a matter of fact, New Jersey is a remarkably fine commonwealth, with good laws and a swift administration of justice, and with marked contrasts between its urban centers, such as Jersey City, Newark, Paterson and Camden, and its varied rural groups and interests. As one studies American States, it would not be fair to single out New Jersey as worse than others, even in its chronic scourge of politicians.

The new Governor is Hon. George S. Silzer, of Metuchen, formerly a local judge, who was swept into office by a great plurality only less than that which elected Governor Edwards to the Senate. Everyone agrees that Edwards and Silzer owe their victory chiefly to the opposition of New Jersey's town-folk to national prohibition. As for the legislature, the Republicans hold both branches by more than three to one.

Governor Silzer is in his fifty-third year, and has long been identified with the political, legal, and administrative affairs of his county of Middlesex, with New Brunswick as the county-seat. Following six years' service in the State Senate, he was appointed Prosecutor of Middlesex County by Governor Woodrow Wilson in 1912. During the eight years from 1914 until last October he was on the bench as a Circuit Court judge.

The new Governor was not inaugurated until January 16. The legislature met and organized a week earlier, and in accordance with Jersey customs the retiring Governor

submitted the budgetary proposals for the coming year and delivered a general message. Whereas the departments had asked for appropriations of more than \$20,500,000, Governor Edwards reduced the estimates to fifteen millions (in round figures), thus keeping expenditures within estimated income. The larger part of New Jersey's ordinary expenditure goes to various institutions for defective and dependent classes, and for education. The message indicates definite progress in matters that affect agriculture and local life.

Governor Edwards left it to his successor to deal with future State policies in general, but he reverts to his former advice to the legislature to enact a tax of one cent a gallon upon all gasoline sold in the State for the benefit of highway maintenance. The gaso-

line tax would also help to carry the new \$40,000,000 bond issue for State highways. New Jersey is engaged in negotiations to acquire as State property the old Morris Canal, in order to convert it to modern uses; and Governor Edwards gives much attention to the details of a project which for New Jersey is of major importance. Water rights are involved in this proposed acquisition, and Mr. Edwards pointed to an approaching day of State control of water supplies, to prevent waste and provide equitable distribution among the various municipalities. New Jersey and New York are coöper-

ating in Hudson tunnels and port plans.

As regards prohibition, Governor Edwards, in this farewell address, merely remarked that his "activities in that regard will soon be transferred to another field." He intimated that Governor Silzer would continue to hold and expound the anti-prohibition sentiments that have regularly emanated from the Governor's office at Trenton. We have had recent occasion to compliment New Jersey upon the excellent supervision of State institutions under the Hon. Burdette G. Lewis as Commissioner, whose expert and non-partisan efficiency is recognized throughout the United States, and whose work ought not to be undermined by political intrigues.



GEORGE S. SILZER
(New Jersey)

(An article on Middle Western Governors and their programs will follow next month)



THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE CAPITOL AT HARRISBURG

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY GIFFORD PINCHOT

AS GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA

(At Harrisburg on January 16)

THE people of Pennsylvania have declared for a new order in the government of their commonwealth. Their decision was forecast in the primary and confirmed in the general election. Their mandate is binding and final. It has become the duty of all their public servants to carry that mandate into effect.

The decision of the people to establish a new order was made concrete in form and direction by the approval of the Republican majority given to the platform upon which I ran in the primary campaign. The program thus adopted as sound Republican policy was my public pledge, if elected, to use every power of the Government in an honest effort:

To drive all saloons out of Pennsylvania.

To prevent and punish bootlegging.

To maintain and secure good laws for the protection of working children, women, and men.

To safeguard the industries of Pennsylvania and promote the prosperity of the State.

To advance the interests of the farmers, who feed us all.

To give our children the best schools in America.

To check centralization and give more home rule to cities, counties, townships, and school districts.

To maintain the direct primary and protect the rights of women voters.

To meet the just needs of those who served in the World War.

To revise and equalize taxes, establish a budget system, and reorganize the State Government on a business basis.

To keep the expenses of the State within its income.

To get a dollar's worth of service for every dollar spent.

In addition I said that as Governor I would appoint no one to public office whom I knew to be unfit, I would move to Harrisburg and be on the job, and I would earnestly strive to give due consideration and a Roosevelt square deal to every man, woman, and child in the State.

The same platform, without change of any sort, became the program which the Republican Party submitted for the approval of all the voters at the general election. It was approved by the largest vote ever given to a Governor in Pennsylvania. It has thereby become the declared policy of the Commonwealth and the chart of the new order upon which the Government of this State is about to enter.

As I undertake the duties of the great office to which the people of Pennsylvania have elected me, I here solemnly repeat to them the pledge made in the primary campaign and reasserted in the general election. That pledge is not a promise to accomplish all things that are necessary or desirable for the advantage of our people. It is a solemn undertaking to use in good faith, and use to the utmost, every legitimate means to accomplish the purposes of the Republican Party and the people of Pennsylvania as they were adopted and declared by them in the recent elections.

In addition to my platform pledge, I repeat in this presence in like manner every other pledge or promise made in either campaign. I have made no pledge or promise of any sort except in public. I enter upon the Governorship completely unhampered by any private or personal engagement, understanding, or undertaking whatsoever, and wholly free to serve the Commonwealth according to the will of the people and the dictates of my own conscience.

I was elected to carry out the program briefly set forth above. That is my first duty. It has become evident, from the number of courteous and attractive invitations to speak which are daily received, that I must choose between doing that duty and talking about doing it. However hard it may be, however much I may regret to decline, there is but one choice to make. I must stick to my work and let the talking go.

State Finances and Organization

The discussion of many questions which might well be considered here must be deferred to future messages to the Legislature, but there are three matters of prime importance which require brief mention.

The first is the financial condition of the State Government.

Appropriations in Pennsylvania have exceeded revenues in the last few years. Therefore we have accumulated liabilities

amounting to many millions which must be paid off before the State can meet its bills as they fall due. Neither sound business principles nor the honor of the State will permit us to delay the necessary readjustment, however uncomfortable that readjustment may be. We must return to the healthy basis of pay-as-you-go at the earliest possible moment.

In accordance with my campaign pledge, I shall submit a budget to the Legislature in the near future, and shall refuse to approve any appropriation bill, or any item in any appropriation bill, that does not fall squarely within the estimated revenues of the Commonwealth. We are going to live within our income, as every family should.

The second question is the reorganization of the State Government.

Much of the machinery by means of which the Commonwealth serves its people has become antiquated, ineffective, and wasteful of the people's money. It needs to be recast into a form that will make possible a dollar's worth of service for every dollar spent. That is impossible now. Such recasting, to be successful, will require extended study, and prolonged practical attention. It cannot be done hastily if it is to be done well. For that reason it will not be possible, in the time we have, to prepare and submit for legislative action a plan completely worked out, but only an outline by Departments, leaving the lesser parts to be filled in by the Executive. That outline is in preparation.

Enforcement of the Volstead Act

The third question relates to the liquor traffic.

Power and responsibility for enforcing the Volstead Law rest in the Nation and also in the State. Under the Eighteenth Amendment the two have concurrent jurisdiction. Both are at fault for the intolerable situation which confronts us.

A general conviction exists throughout this Commonwealth not only that the Volstead Act is not enforced but that no vigorous effort has ever been made to enforce it. Our people have seen men known to be opposed to the enforcement of the law selected to compel obedience to it on the part of others. They are told that appointments to the position of enforcement agent are treated as political spoils, and that politicians opposed to all that the law stands

for are permitted to name such agents. They believe that persons high in official place are constantly and openly violating the spirit if not the letter of the law, and winking at its violation by others. They understand that liquor is sold almost as freely and openly as it was before the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment.

With such beliefs in mind, the people are necessarily led to conclude that the law is systematically disregarded by those whose peculiar duty it is to respect or enforce it, and in consequence the general disregard for all law grows steadily worse.

I regard the present flagrant failure to enforce the Volstead Law as a blot on the good name of Pennsylvania and the United States. If allowed to continue it will amount to a serious charge against the fitness of our people for genuine self-government. I share in the belief that no determined concerted effort to enforce the law has yet been made, and I propose not only to press with all my power for the abolition of the saloon but also to make sure that the Government of this State takes its full and effective part in such an effort.

Pennsylvania must either control the criminals who are openly breaking the law or be controlled by them. With all good citizens I believe that this Commonwealth is greater and more powerful than any band of law-breakers whatsoever, and I intend to act on that belief.

This administration will be dry. The Executive Mansion will be dry, and the personal practice of the Governor and his family will continue to be dry, in conformity to the spirit and letter of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The law is the law. It is the foundation of order, safety, and prosperity, and of the Commonwealth itself. Every State official takes oath, and is in honor bound, to obey it. I shall expect and demand from every public servant appointed by me, or subject to removal by me, from the highest to the lowest, entire and ungrudging obedience to the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Law. They are part of the law of the land.

Roosevelt Progressivism

I was a follower of Roosevelt while he was living. I am his follower no less to-day, as his great soul still leads this people on the road to better things. The movement which resulted in my election is the direct

descendant of the Roosevelt Progressive movement of 1912. The point of view was the same, the specific platform planks were largely identical, and the popular support came mainly from similar sources. Both were based squarely on the proposition that the public good comes first. This administration has taken that proposition as its foundation stone, and upon it hopes and intends to erect a structure of honest and effective service to all the people, without distinction of race, creed, sex, or political complexion.

"A New Birth of Political Righteousness"

The breakdown of law enforcement is proof enough, if other proof were lacking, that Pennsylvania needs a new birth of political righteousness. The responsibility lies not alone at the door of the politicians. It lies also at the door of the people, who for years have tolerated in their public servants standards of conduct known to be indefensible, and under which no private business could survive. The people have suffered the Commonwealth to be badly served. This is the essential evil, and here must be the fundamental change.

Pennsylvania is too great a Commonwealth to be permanently satisfied with less than the best. Her people are too sound at heart, her resources and her industries too commanding, her place in the sisterhood of States too high, to permit us to consider for a moment the acceptance of any standards but the highest, any procedure but the most thoroughly approved. The Government of Pennsylvania must be in detail what the Commonwealth is in general—the leader and exemplar of the Nation. Nothing inferior is good enough for the Keystone State.

My sole ambition is to help toward making our State Government what it ought to be, to serve the people honestly and with intelligence, to contribute at least by a little to the safety, honor, and welfare of our Commonwealth. I desire and earnestly entreat the good-will, the coöperation, and the support of all well-disposed citizens, men and women alike. With their assistance, and above all with the blessing of Him in whose hands are the plans of men and the fate of Nations, I shall approach my task with eagerness to be useful, with determination to be fair, and with strong confidence in ultimate success.

LABOR BEGINS A NEW CAREER IN BRITAIN'S PARLIAMENT

BY FRANK DILNOT

WE have now seen the Labor Party in action in the House of Commons and it is possible to draw some deductions for the future. Labor, with its 138 members constituting by far the largest party opposed to the Conservative Government, finds itself—with an experienced parliamentarian, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, at its head—in the responsible position of "His Majesty's Opposition." The latter is a remarkable phrase in the British Constitution. It means that the party it designates is that which has to keep the government of the day up to the scratch, and also, should emergency arise, to change places with it and carry on the work of the nation. The very existence of "His Majesty's Opposition," moreover, inevitably tinges the policy of the government in being, not only by voicing public opinion, which may occasionally be antagonistic to the reigning majority, but also by the fact that any government, unless it has an overwhelming number in its ranks, must pay attention to the arguments and persuasions of its principal opponents in order to avoid the defections which may lead to defeat.

For the first time in history, then, Labor holds this position. What is going to be the outcome? Is a Labor Government for this ancient and aristocratic country a possibility of the near future?

A good many people run away with the idea that a Labor Government in Britain may mean the overturning of the system of society which exists in all great countries except Russia. I believe there is not the slightest danger of that. Further, I do not believe that a Labor Government in power would proceed to anything like such striking changes as were made, for instance, under the Asquith Government with Mr. Lloyd

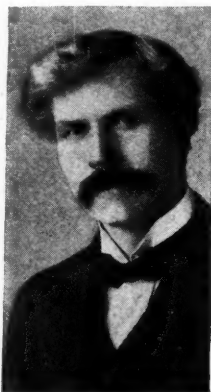
George as its driving spirit. With strict adherence to constitutional methods there would be efforts of a tentative kind guided, so far as methods were concerned, by the permanent officials of our public departments, toward an amelioration of what all parties regard as evils—toward the lessening of unemployment, the improvement of public health in the crowded city districts, the encouragement of agriculture.

With these things there might undoubtedly be some endeavor in the direction of depreciating the high monetary awards which now go with successful enterprise in business as a means of paying for the other things. There are strong evidences that

this latter endeavor would probably meet collapse if pushed very strenuously, perhaps, indeed, if embarked upon at all. Saturation point has been reached in taxation in England, for when from 50 to 75 per cent. of a successful merchant's income is taken away from him it destroys opportunity for enterprise, and it certainly stultifies, to some extent at least, the motive towards enterprise. I fancy a Labor Government would proceed along humdrum paths unless it wished to court disaster, and by that I mean electoral disaster. Millions of pounds a year are at present

being paid out of the national exchequer—that is to say, out of the pockets of the taxpayer—so that the unemployed may have a weekly sum to keep them from starvation. Such help may be extended even under a Conservative Government.

Labor, like any other ministry, will have no inexhaustible mine of gold to draw from, but would have to do exactly the same as its rivals in trying to find some means of increasing the national wealth, some means of giving further incentive to enterprise,



RAMSAY MAC DONALD

courage and vision on the part of the big and forceful minds and at the same time increased work and better pay to those who hew wood and draw water. Conservatism, Liberalism, Socialism, whatever the adherents of each may say, in no case provide the golden secret by the automatic application of principles. I believe that each party in Britain at the moment is bending its best energies to find the way out—a way to secure more wealth, together with the humane application of it for the community as a whole. What, then, is the hope? It is this: That the great emergency will produce, as the great emergencies have produced in the past, individual human spirits touched with genius and courage who will make the great discovery. The Labor Party by opening up new fields of human talent buried in the past generations by the privileges of wealth and caste may play a great part, and one of the interesting studies of the moment is the investigation of personality in Labor's new army.

It may be said at once that the 138 men in the House of Commons are flushed with their victory and novel power; they are avid for action; in their present mood they are not to be trammelled by precedent or by convention. This alone will not take them to success, and they must discover among themselves the constructive spirit, they must find leaders who are able to survey human nature as a whole.

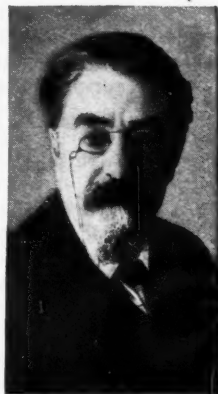
There is a diversity among the Labor members such as has never been known before. The old trade-union leaders still leaven the mass and it will be an ungrateful working class that forgets the services which these men have rendered in the last quarter of a century. But the solid worth of these veterans will be stimulated by different elements. Take a glance at them. Mr. Sidney Webb, at one

time described as the brains of the Labor Party, is what is commonly known as a high-brow, an historian of trade unionism, a leader of the Fabian Society with its middle-class socialism, a "platform maker," a thinker. He has in the past given Labor many of its tenets; his has been the guiding voice behind many of its policies. He is now in Parliament

and will necessarily take a leading part in its counsels. He is a little man in his sixty-fourth year, with upstanding hair, a tiny tuft of beard and eye-glasses. Kindly and thoughtful, he is by no means a thrilling speaker. His defects have been a certain extreme intellectualism which has little relation to the ordinary every-day emotions of men and women.

Take another new arrival, who, although he alone calls himself a Communist, has nevertheless many of his type among the ranks of labor. Mr. Newbold, the Scottish member, in the first week or two hurled wild and passionate sentences at the House of Commons without much effect. He decried the rich and poured a certain crude scorn on pomp and ceremony. With a gesture which was meant to be intimidating, he threatened Parliament with the visit of another Cromwell and it must have been like a douche of cold water when the House, including some of his own friends, rippled with merriment instead of showing signs of timidity about the wrath to come.

A very different type of Labor member is Mr. Patrick Hastings, K. C., a man who had become eminent in the law, a successful advocate and probably a moderately rich man. He has made his maiden speech and is no doubt reflecting how very different the House of Commons is as an audience from judge and juries. He is a clean-shaven, youngish-looking man with great fluency and smoothness of speech, who makes no



SIDNEY WEBB



PATRICK HASTINGS



PHILIP SNOWDEN

gestures, but gently raises his eyebrows to give his phrases emphasis and who has that worst of parliamentary faults—an appearance of superciliousness. The House of Commons is a place which cannot be lectured by either King or commoner. Mr. Patrick Hastings is at present too superior. He is a clever man and will mellow.

A real force among the new arrivals—he has come back after an absence of years—is Mr. Philip Snowden, the Socialist, a frail figure of a man who walks with a stick, with pallid hatchet face and small burning eyes sunk deep beneath a projecting brow. He has passion and bitterness and practicality: he fears no one, not even his friends, and his slow, hissing words never fail to thrill the House. He faces facts; he has read widely and deeply. He recently announced his hatred of Bolshevism and was as acrid about it as he was about the state of affairs in Britain at the moment. He makes phrases, but it is not for the sake of the phrases, and they are phrases which hurt and scarify and disturb even the most stupid. There is power—power all the time—in this delicate, white-faced man when he rises to his feet. He always reminds me of an incarnation from the French Revolution. Years have softened Mr. Snowden a little, and my own impression is that in power he will prove a real statesman and I say that however much I may disagree with him in some of his policies.

A new type of Labor adherent altogether is Mr. Scrymgeour, the prohibitionist in Dundee, who took Mr. Churchill's seat away from him. Mr. Scrymgeour is an elderly man of tremendous sincerity who delivers generalities with the fury of a prophet. He is platitudinous in the extreme. He gets a hearing because of his obvious earnestness, but that will not last long in the House of Commons, which is prepared to listen to either nobleman or railway porter if he has an arresting mind, but will not be bored. Mr. Scrymgeour is a curiosity, but I see in him no hint of lasting personal power.

Then there is Mr. MacDonald, the leader and chief spokesman of the party in the House—a tall, spare man, handsome, with his silver hair and debonair moustache, with power in his deepest eyes enhanced by a sonorous voice and a knowledge of how to use it. Previous years in Parliament have given Mr. MacDonald a knowledge of House of Commons methods, and he has the

gift also, to some extent, of managing men. He is not afraid to take upon himself responsibilities and he will stand up to the strongest in the arena with confidence which is more or less justified. He has never worked with his hands, having been in his early years a schoolmaster and a secretary, and his middle-class associations probably give him a strength, since he is not ignorant of nor indifferent to the various feelings of those who have gone beyond the range of manual labor. There is no legislature devoid of what may be called intrigue or, to put it politely, political management; no party devoid of it either, and Mr. MacDonald, possessing a personal gracious dignity, has one of the acutest minds with regard to maneuver. He exercises it, too. In some circumstances this has proved and may indeed prove again a serious weakness to him, but on the whole it is a big advantage to a man in his position.

Here, then, are some of the newcomers. Their immediate duty will lie not so much in trying to turn the government out—a hopeless task at the moment—but in creating public opinion through discussion in the House and forcing those in authority to take heed of labor problems and try to find the way to meet them. This is to be done not only by the big debates on wide questions which are reported in the newspapers, but in the daily examination of the acts of the various government departments—War, Navy, Education, Local Government, Trade and Foreign Affairs. Every afternoon for three-quarters of an hour the House of Commons is given over to questions to Ministers, who have to stand up and explain or defend in regard to the points which are raised. There are going to be some hot question times in the coming session arising from the enquiries of the 138 Labor members. Should an answer to a special point which is of sufficient importance be considered unsatisfactory, it is within the power of the Labor members to raise a debate on it later in the sitting—indeed, to challenge the existence of the government. In these functions, as well as in the set speeches, we shall find indications of personality, of talent, which will only come to full fruition when it finds opportunity in a ministry. Let it be remembered that Mr. Lloyd George rose to eminence through his guerilla tactics on the back benches. There are plenty of guerillas now among the Labor men.

HINTS FROM EUROPEAN RADICALISM

BY CHARLES H. SHERRILL

"**M**ORE to the left, Sir, keep more to the left," shouted Mademoiselle Lenglen to King Gustaf of Sweden, up at the net, as together they were playing tennis at Cannes against Lord Balfour and partner just after the Washington Conference of 1922. "That is just what my radical Prime Minister Branting is always telling me," humorously replied the popular monarch. His Majesty referred, of course, to continental Europe's custom of seating parliaments so that the Radicals sit to the left and the Conservatives to the right, leaving the center to the Moderates, including Clericals, if there happens to be a Church party. This tennis anecdote came from a Swedish diplomat of the old school, who believes his sovereign should disregard the Left or radical spirit among his people.

But was this diplomat right? Is a government wise which disregards factors in its citizenship which, unless considered, tend to grow more and more dangerous? Many years ago during a bachelor dinner in New York City where certain of our mates had dined "not wisely but too well" a standing lamp became involved in their frolics, fell over and set fire to a curtain. One of the exhilarated few (now a respected judge in New York City) called out, "Treat it with silent contempt; it only fired the curtain to attract attention." That illustrates how some reactionary statesmen would treat all radical movements in politics, but there is another method. About ten years ago during a dinner in the American Embassy, I was seated beside the famous Lépine, so long head of the Paris police as *Prefet de la Seine*. He was plying me with questions about police measures taken in Buenos Aires when, during my service there as American Minister, martial law had been

declared because of anarchists recently arrived from Barcelona. I asked how he treated applications to parade received from Paris radicals. "I usually grant them" said he, "but always reserve the right to march at the head of their band. If they show a desire to turn toward some section of the city where excessive exuberance might cause damage, I divert them in some other direction." Why is not this the best manner in which to treat radicalism?

The word Barcelona reminds us of the policy toward extremists adopted by that intelligent student of European political tendencies, Alfonso XIII, King of Spain. He came to Deauville last August for a fortnight of polo. During some of his dashing play one of his intimates remarked to me, "His Majesty does not believe polo games can be won by merely defending the goal. For him attack is the best defense." And he showed this to be his personal policy in another game more important than polo, when during recent communistic unrest in Barcelona, he promptly went there and insisted upon walking freely about the streets in spite of police appeals that he accept elaborate protection against danger of personal attack. This is the same King at whom a bomb was thrown by a radical as he came out of church after his marriage; his courage is not

that of ignorance!

In Franklin K. Lane's Letters he says, "The greatness of Roosevelt lay, in a sense, in his recklessness." And both friends and enemies will admit that his recklessness expressed itself best in his manner of confronting radicalism. Roosevelt's most useful contribution to American political life was his constant insistence that the only way to deal with radicalism was to go out to meet it and learn its point of view so as to be able



© Keystone
PREMIER BRANTING
OF SWEDEN

to guide it into channels where the expression of its policy might become helpful instead of harmful to government. Steam is a helpful force in civilization, but only a fool thinks to control it by sitting on the safety valve!

Government of the people, by the people, and for the people cannot be safeguarded by a policy of merely defending the goal against those seeking to overthrow government. Cato was right in tirelessly insisting that "the war must be carried into Africa." But where is the Radical Africa of modern statesmanship—or in other words, are there definite and nonshifting boundaries within which radicalism is included? Do European Radical leaders generally remain radical?

Radicals Once, Now Conservative

One day during the summer of 1921 Dr. Eduard Benes, then as now Minister for Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia, talked with me in his office hung about with priceless tapestries in the magnificent old Hapsburg palace perched upon Hradschin hill in Prague. From his windows one could look out upon the ancient city and far beyond across the land which he had helped to free. Once he was a hated radical, an extremist pursued and imprisoned therefor by the Austro-Hungarian imperial government. That fine old gentleman, President Masaryk, likewise imprisoned for his advanced views, had also been considered a radical. To those two men more than to any others is due the reasoned government of this new republic, whose recognized stability is so vitally important to the present and the

future of Central Europe. Any great international merchant will tell you that those one-time radicals Masaryk and Benes today represent a conservative force in government—and yet they came from the Left! That astute diplomat Count Wrangel, while Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, remarked to me one day in the Foreign Office in Stockholm that when a Socialist mounts in the political world so that he can view it from a balcony it looks to him quite different from the same world seen from the sidewalk.

During this conversation with Dr. Benes at Prague, we spoke of the Serbian Prime Minister Pashich, with whom and the Rumanians Benes had during August, 1920, effected the political combination since known as the Petite Entente. I commented that it seemed strange that the party of so conservative a statesman as Pashich should today be called Radical, but Benes' narration of the past made it clear that this was but another instance of the Left moving past the Center towards the Right.

When Pashich led the dangerous policy of championing constitutional government against that murderous autocrat, King Milan of Serbia, he was classed as a dangerous radical. One evening when he and his Cabinet were cordially invited to visit Milan's Palace he prudently decided to cross the river into Austria and go into self-inflicted exile. The others accepted the royal hospitality and found it—in prison! Since those early days Serbian political opinion has moved so far forward as to catch up with Pashich and perhaps to pass him. Pashich the Radical has almost become Pashich the Conservative.

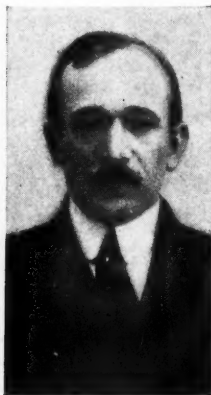
The recently crowned King Alexander of Serbia is a thoroughly modernized royalty, perfectly comprehending the wisdom of Mademoiselle Lenglen's advice upon effective tennis-playing to his fellow sovereign. In passing we may remark that King Alexander has married a daughter of the astute Queen of Rumania, which latter beautiful lady is rapidly qualifying as Grandmother of the Balkans, with one daughter married to the Serbian King, a second to the King of Greece, and a third to the Heir Apparent of Bulgaria.

Perhaps the most striking example of a moderated radical, a Right-acting man coming from the Left, is provided by Aristide Briand, who began his political career as a Socialist. When Prime Minister,



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THOMAS MASARYK



EDUARD BENES

(President and Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia)

after the Socialists brought about a strike on the railways, he mobilized all railway employees by act of martial law and then set them to work as enrolled soldiers upon the very jobs which as civilians they had just quitted. He has been Prime Minister seven times, and when he reaches his eighth reincarnation at the Quai d'Orsay, Briand the Eighth will be vastly more conservative than Briand the First.

Albert Thomas, Minister of Munitions for France in the war, affords another typical example of the normally logical French mind developing from theory to practice with experience as a teacher. The speeches which Monsieur Thomas is now making in America are proving very helpful to his country's cause, as well as to sound political thought everywhere.

From all the foregoing, perhaps, we may venture to conclude that the reason why it is so difficult to fix definite geographical boundaries for radicalism is that "Radical," when used in politics, is really not a descriptive adjective—it is an epithet!

Responsibility and Sobering Influence

What may Americans conclude from the foregoing anecdotes? Do they not show a tendency among European radical leaders to swing towards the Right after undergoing the responsibilities of public office? Even Lenin and Trotzky, finding that their Red communism does not work in practice, are announcing to all and sundry their conversion to the need of recognizing individual property rights, and other similar capitalistic heresies. Significant proof of this general tendency towards conservatism throughout Europe appears from the fact that although to-day no two countries are less alike than Russia and Great Britain, yet the turn of Lenin and Trotzky towards the Right is exactly paralleled by the Conservative victory in the recent British general elections. Responsibility sobers the most radical enthusiasm.

It is interesting to note that if responsibility be thrown upon radicalism when a great national crisis comes from without (as in the late war) a radical government may meet such an extreme case even better than a conservative one. A case in point, or rather two similar cases, are afforded by the admirable manner in which the Liberal government of Great Britain and the Democratic one of the United States voted and conducted nationwide conscription. From



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ARISTIDE BRIAND

(Seven times Premier of France; a "Right-acting man from the Left")



ALBERT THOMAS

(Former French Minister of Munitions, now Director of the International Labor Office)

the very make-up of those two parties it was obvious they were socially in a better position to impose and enforce conscription than either the British Conservatives or the American Republicans. So radical a measure was endurable by radicals because it was self-imposed; but it might not have been endured by them if imposed by Conservatives.

A very different picture is presented when the national crisis is created within by the radicals themselves, as is now being demonstrated by unhappy Russia, that terror-ruled chaos of distorted political economy. There we are witnessing the inevitable result in any country if its constructive radicalism will not or cannot purge itself of its destructive extremists such as communists and anarchists. It would seem that nowadays radicalism is unable by its own effort to purge itself of these dangerous elements in its own ranks—at least this is the impression outsiders receive from current events in Bolsheviki Russia, Socialism overturned by the Fascisti in Italy, and the Red tendencies of certain Laborites in England. The Russians seem unable to throw off the terror-supported government of Lenin and Trotzky. In Italy, so hopelessly and helplessly were the Socialist radicals blundering on that the Fascisti, a new and nationalistic force from outside politics, had to march in and cut out such cankers as government ownership of railways, telegraphs, and telephones with all they mean of inefficient bureaucracy and extinction of personal initiative and com-

petition, as we found to our cost during the late war.

The Fascisti intend to eliminate governmental deficits by 'selling back into private ownership such public utilities as do not pay, and only serve as asylum for bureaucracy. Nor are these the only Gordian knots of government they are cutting.

Radicalism: Good or Bad?

The conclusion which this airplane view of European political tendencies would seem to force upon us, is that their radicalism is a growth not necessarily either evil or good, but that if repressed or disregarded as in Russia or Italy, then it will be evil. If regarded and steadied as in France it may be as good as and sometimes even better than conservatism. Surely it has there produced certain leaders who when steadied were safer than many ultra-conservatives. Anywhere and at all times radicalism will be bad if it takes the form of one class imposing for its own benefit excessive taxation upon another class. Take, for example, the drying up of American investment capital needed for railway expansion which has been caused by unwise income-tax legislation imposed by the vote of those who do not pay surtaxes. Countries cannot lift themselves by their bootstraps any more than can individuals!

Upon one point, however, all Europe and America will presently agree, namely, that radicalism is healthy in the body politic if encouraging instead of discouraging personal initiative in its nation. This should be an acid test for all political parties. The great German industrial, Stinnes, remarked to me in Berlin in May, 1921, that the German cartel system was better for their foreign trade than American trusts for ours, because the former maintained and encouraged all existing initiative in German companies and only combined them

into cartels for foreign trade, whilst American trusts bought out competitors and sent off their brainy initiators to play golf in California, Florida or Europe. The wealth of any nation is sadly depleted if there be subtracted from it the spur of personal competition and initiative.

Of late the world has received two blessings in disguise (one of them hideously so!)—the demonstration ad absurdum in Russia that Communism does not work, and the

inefficiency of government management of railways seen during the war in the United States and lately advertised by the Fascisti in Italy. Let individuality flourish lest the nation perish!—not forgetting that the government of the people must be continued by the people for the people instead of by a small autocracy supported by terrorist methods.

Rudyard Kipling in his "Imperial Rescript", has the Kaiser trying to level all men "to the even tramp of an army where no man breaks from the lines," but it does not succeed—competition reasserts itself.

"And the Spirit of Man that is in Him to the light of the vision woke;

And the men drew back from the paper, as a Yankee delegate spoke:

'There's a girl in Jersey City who works on the telephone;

We're going to hitch our horses and dig for a house of our own,

With gas and water connections, and steamheat through to the top;

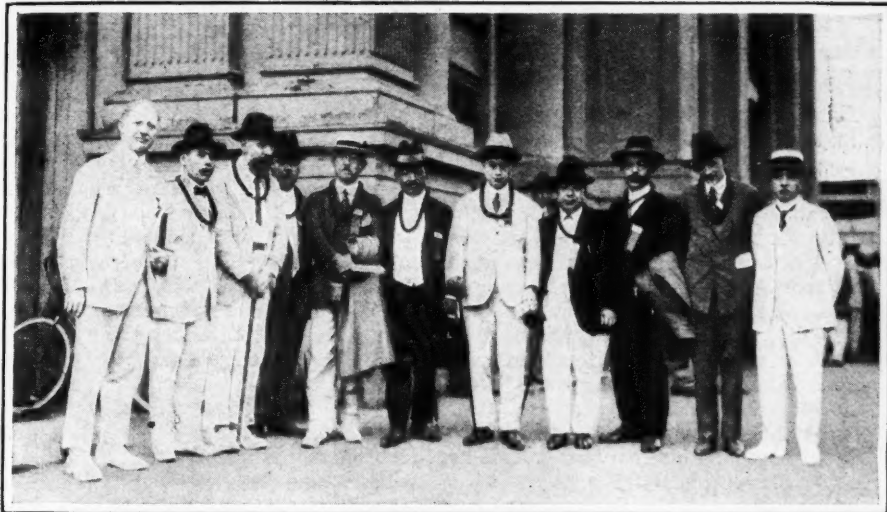
And, W. Hohenzollern, I guess I shall work till I drop."

Too many of our radical leaders tend to grow more and more extreme in their opportunist search for new measures to tickle the passing fancy of the voters. It would be well if they and we took note of the healthy tendency among European Radicals to learn in the school of experience to swing more and more towards policies that work, and away from unworkable novelties useful only to catch votes.



PREMIER PASHICH
OF SERBIA





HAWAII WELCOMES JAPAN'S DELEGATION TO THE PAN-PACIFIC COMMERCIAL CONFERENCE

(At the left of the group is Frank Forest Bunker, executive secretary of the Pan-Pacific Union and former member of the staff of the United States Bureau of Education. Second from the right is Alexander Hume Ford, director of the Union and editor and publisher of the *Mid-Pacific Magazine*)

TALKING OVER PACIFIC PROBLEMS

BY RILEY H. ALLEN

(Editor of the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin*)

IT was not called as a "peace conference," nor heralded as a tribunal before which bloody-handed Mars would be brought to justice, tried and convicted.

It was an unpretentious gathering of plain business men—this Pan-Pacific Commercial Conference at Honolulu in October—but in a ten days' session it built several extremely solid and useful rows of stone into the foundation on which is rising a new understanding in the Pacific.

And did it without fuss or frills, quarrels or quibbles, suspicions or sensations.

A gathering of plain business men—but they represented nearly every country washed by the Pacific, except those of South America. A gathering of men who came not seeking any advantage for their respective nations in politics, territory or trade, but seeking to outline better ways of doing business between the countries of the Pacific. Surely, one would say, a very prosaic gathering it must have been, unin-

teresting to the ordinary observer, unimportant to the world at large.

It might have been so—except that this Pan-Pacific Commercial Conference was blessed with imagination. Imagination—call it "vision," perhaps—gave birth to the idea; imagination spread it; imagination "got the idea across" to national governments and bureaus; imagination touched business men and professional men fitted to be delegates, so that they left their homes in far lands and journeyed overseas—from the Occident and from the Orient—toward the common meeting-place at the "Cross-roads of the Pacific"—Honolulu.

So it happened that while statesmen and diplomats of the Old World were mourning, cursing or squabbling over wrecks of Near East policies, in the New World there was going quietly forward an international conference wholly harmonious, getting at some of the roots of international friction—roots buried deep in international business.

Hawaii as a Conference Center

This Pacific Commercial Conference, first of its kind, can be understood only with a word as to its background. It is the fourth international conference called in Honolulu within three years under the auspices of the Pan-Pacific Union. The Pan-Pacific Union is an association that has grown from small gatherings of men of various races living in Hawaii, that melting-pot of races. Successful locally, the Pan-Pacific Union some years ago reached out to interest the Pacific nations, through their governments, their civic and commercial organizations, their unselfish men and women everywhere who believed in solving international trouble by "talking it over first."

Three years ago the first international assembly was called for Hawaii—the Scientific Congress. Successful to a high degree, it confirmed abundantly the belief that the idea was sound. In 1921 there followed the Educational Conference and the Press Congress of the World. A division of the Press Congress, the Pan-Pacific Press Congress,

held its sessions simultaneously with those of the parent body.

Each of these international gatherings was marked by substantial progress. International "politics" was strictly forbidden—a precaution which patently has saved the conferences and made their continuance possible. No political question was allowed to come up, either in addresses or in discussion. But, except for politics, the addresses, the floor discussions and the resolutions were little limited. "Anything which is for the good of the Pacific" was the unwritten platform.

Perhaps in no other place but Hawaii could these gatherings successfully take up international problems and deal with them without rancor, anger or suspicion. There is something in the atmosphere of the "Isles of Paradise" that promotes harmony among races. Delegations which come obviously with some skepticism, expecting a diplomatic sparring for national advantage, are disarmed within a day or two by the evident atmosphere of sincerity and good will. This fact—a psychological fact which has been again and again acknowledged openly by these delegates—has marked every one of the four conferences.

So much for the history of the Commercial Conference. On October 26, it opened its business sessions—even this inaugural being marked by the picturesque and colorful observance that is typical of Hawaii to-day.

An Array of Able Delegates

The sessions were held in the "throne room" of Iolani Palace, once the administrative center of island royalty; once also the prison of Queen Liliuokalani. Now it is the territorial capitol, presided over by Governor Wallace R. Farrington, who is president of the Pan-Pacific Union and one of its most active and enthusiastic members.

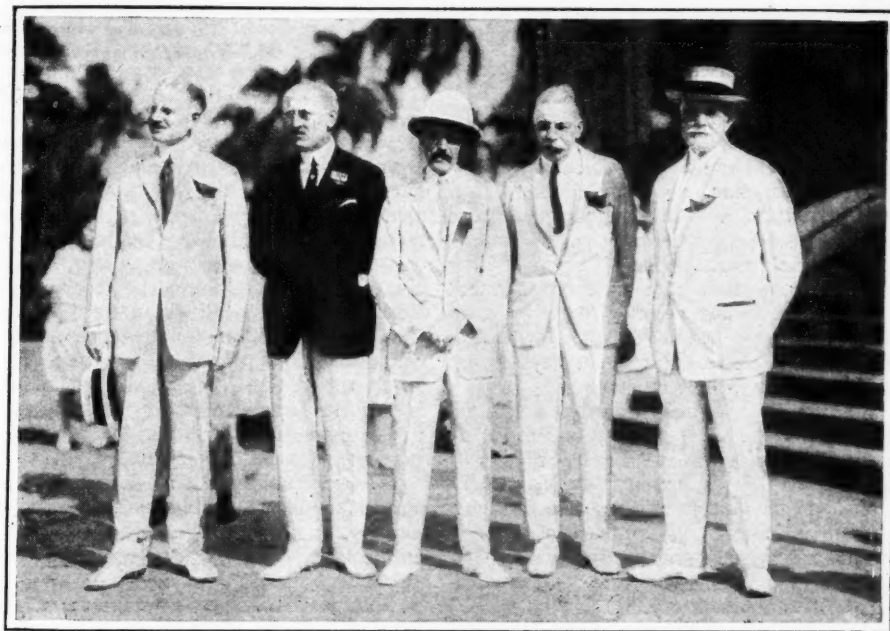
The delegates—a word or two about them. From the first on the alphabetical list—Goichi Abe of the Tokio Chamber of Commerce; to the last—Rear-Admiral Henry J. Ziegemeier, U. S. Director of Naval Communications, they were men with special and definite knowledge of the things to be discussed, the projects to be furthered, at the conference.

There was H. Y. Moh, one of the great figures of Chinese industrial life to-day, who came to America and learned the cotton business from field production to the



THE GOVERNOR OF HAWAII AND THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE

(Governor Wallace R. Farrington is also president of the Pan-Pacific Union. Mr. E. O. McCormick, at the right, is vice-president of the Southern Pacific Railroad system, chosen by the delegates to act as chairman of the conference)



A GROUP OF DELEGATES FROM ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES

(From left to right, are: F. C. T. O'Hara, deputy minister of trade and commerce in Canada; Raymond C. Brown, secretary of the Territory of Hawaii; W. F. Kennedy, of New Zealand; Capt. I. N. Hibberd, a shipping expert of San Francisco; and Barton W. Evermann, director of the Museum of the California Academy of Sciences and advocate of a plan for restoration of Pacific fisheries)

selling of the finished cloth; and went back to China to become the head of several big cotton concerns. There was Dr. Zensaku Sano, president of the Tokio University of Commerce, keen economist and an apostle of modernism in Japanese commercial practice. There was F. C. T. O'Hara, once a Baltimore newspaper man, now Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce of Canada—permanent head of that department and a man who knows Canadian industry from St. John's to Vancouver and back again.

There was Gano Dunn, president of the J. G. White Engineering Corporation of New York. There was M. Charles, of the French Colonial Department. There was Samuel U. Zau, Chinese banker who is financial counsellor to the cabinet of the Chinese Government.

From Siam came Phya Medha Dhibodi, Oxford graduate, a keen student of national economics. Herbert Hoover sent over to China and delegated Julean Arnold, the U. S. commercial attaché, as his personal representative, and Arnold brought to the conference an intimate knowledge of the Far East and its industrial problems almost unequaled among Americans to-day.

Siberia, even in her throes of political upheaval, recognized the importance of this conference, and the result was the presence of I. Tolmachoff, of the Polytechnic University of Vladivostok, an expert on Siberian natural resources. He represented the Chamber of Commerce of Vladivostok which even while "whites" and "reds" fight for political mastery manages to hold together in some fashion the commercial interests of this gateway to rich Siberia.

Australia sent Mark Young, chief inspector of the Commonwealth Bank of Sydney. The Philippines were represented by Teodore Yangco, a wealthy business man; Korea sent two delegates; New Zealand had a delegate and from Salvador came Pedro Fonseca, Director of Statistics. S. B. DeReachi spoke for Mexico. Both China and Japan had large delegations, and chambers of commerce in various cities of the United States, especially the West Coast, were strongly represented.

With this sort of membership, with very definite subjects of trade and commerce to discuss, and with an enthusiasm which grew visibly day after day, the Pan-Pacific Commercial Conference "registered" not only

on the delegates, but on Hawaii and on many visitors from Pacific nations who were in Honolulu, a distinct impression of practical usefulness.

Early in the session three principal projects began to take shape. They were:

Extension of radio communication facilities on the Pacific.

Preservation and restoration of Pacific marine life—*i.e.*, fisheries, seal rookeries, bird-breeding grounds, etc.

Conference of shipping and other trade interests of Pacific nations to reduce the serious waste in ocean tonnage which has been brought about by competitive building and operation of merchant marines.

Each of these projects, after receiving extended consideration by the conference and after being moulded into somewhat definite shape, must be put up to the various Pacific governments. For, be it emphasized, these Pan-Pacific conferences can not and do not attempt to bind the governments to any policy or course of action. Their function is recommendatory.

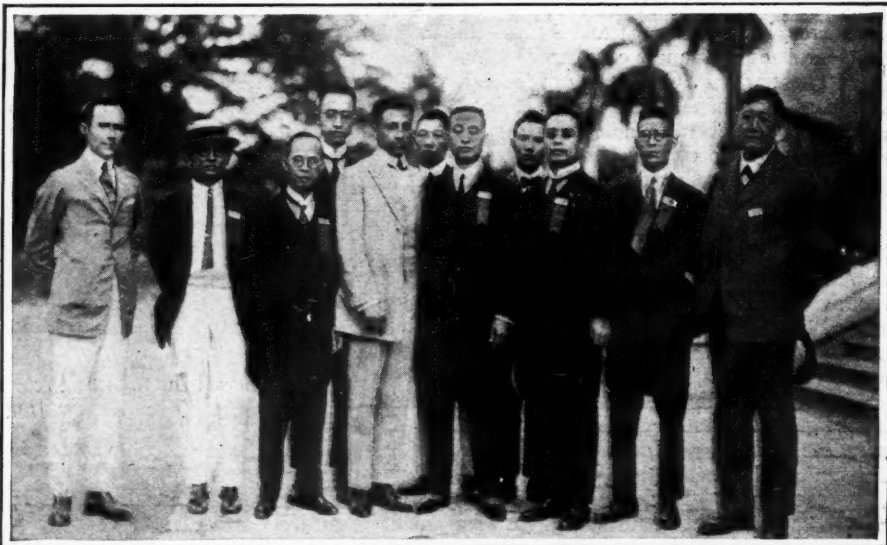
Each of the projects briefly outlined above is recognized as of immediate importance to the development of the Pacific. The situation which has brought each to public attention is a situation fraught with danger of friction on the Pacific ocean.

Better Communication an Aid to International Understanding

Extension of radio communication facilities is not a new subject. It was before the Press Congress of the World last year, and typical of the practical value of these Pan-Pacific meetings is the fact that the recommendations of the Press Congress are already being carried out. Congress followed one such recommendation when, a few months ago, both houses passed and the President signed a bill extending the use of the U. S. Navy Radio for press (newspaper) communications until June 30, 1925. As a result of this, the U. S. Naval Radio system is performing a splendid service by furnishing transmission facilities for news dispatches, at a reasonable rate.

It is one fundamental belief of the Pan-Pacific people that better understanding on the Pacific rests largely on better, quicker intercourse. High rates and congested cable systems for many years have operated to hold news articles to the barest summary of fact. Lack of sufficient press-transmission facilities has tremendously handicapped the nations on one side of the Pacific in trying to learn and to understand what is going on upon the other side.

The Pan-Pacific Press Congress and the Commercial Conference have put radio



THE CHINESE DELEGATION (IN THE CENTER), WITH TWO REPRESENTATIVES FROM CUBA AND SIAM (AT THE LEFT) AND A PHILIPPINE DELEGATE (AT THE RIGHT)

communication on the Pacific ten years ahead—not so much on the technical side as on the business side—on the side of the necessary arrangements to use the fine systems which are being developed.

To-day, the United States Naval Radio system is ready to transmit press news at a low rate from the United States to the Orient, and is already sending to the Orient a limited volume. The commercial conference, by bringing together certain American and Japanese delegates, has virtually guaranteed that Japan will enlist the services of her government-owned wireless stations in coöperation with the U. S. naval system.

V. S. McClatchy, publisher of the *Sacramento Bee*, has been an indefatigable leader in various moves to extend and expand Pacific communications. A delegate to the Press Congress of the World, he gave the plan a great forward impetus there and followed it up at the commercial conference.

Japan's delegation, realizing the importance of better news and commercial service across the Pacific, lent valuable assistance. In fact, it was a Japanese delegate, Baron Yasushi Togo, member of the Japanese House of Peers, who introduced the resolution that crystallized the growing sentiment. As finally passed, its essential points are:

Now, therefore, be it resolved, by the Commercial Conference of the Pan-Pacific Union, That the governments of the respective countries bordering on the Pacific be urged to use their radio facilities and other means of communication in coöperation with each other or with other agencies, to provide means of intercommunication for the public, whenever and wherever such services cannot be obtained through privately operated agencies, to accomplish the following purposes: (1) the transmission of commercial messages at the usual commercial rates; (2) the transmission of news messages promptly and at the low rates necessary for establishing of regular news reports.

Apportion Shipping, and Save Waste!

A keen business man and practical shipping operator, Capt. I. N. Hibberd of San Francisco, brought forward a remarkable proposal for an international agreement on limiting merchant marine tonnage and on allocation of trade routes.

He quoted statistics on current operations of the merchant marines of several of the leading nations to prove that there is immense economic waste in duplication of routes, by which three or four vessels of competing nations or lines carry light cargoes when only one vessel should be used.



DELEGATES FROM FRENCH INDO-CHINA

(The Misses Bietry, editors and part owners of the *Bulletin Financier et Economique* of Saigon, Indo-China)

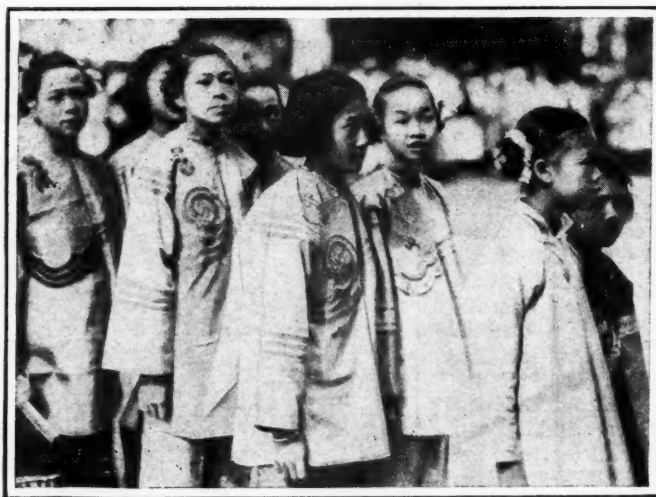
His proposal for an allocation of the world's shipping is, briefly, as follows:

Atlantic Ocean—Give to the nations of the world other than the United States 70 per cent. of the carrying trade to and from the Americas in the two Atlantics, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean to the 95th degree of east longitude, in proportion to the tonnage of their respective fleets and the volume of their commerce with those countries, based on the figures shown at the beginning of the war, the remaining 30 per cent. to go to the United States.

Pacific Ocean—Traffic on the Pacific to be apportioned 50 per cent. to the United States, 30 per cent. to Japan, and the balance to the various other maritime nations of the world. This arrangement to affect the North and South Pacific and the eastern seas as far as the 95th degree of east longitude. An exception to be made of the trade between Australia and England, which is a separate unit belonging to those countries, in which the other nations have little interest.

The conference passed the following resolution as a first step toward eliminating waste of tonnage:

This conference is of the opinion that the nations adjoining the Pacific should hold an international conference consisting of representatives of the shipping and trading interests of Pacific lands for the purpose of studying the question of the conservation of shipping on the Pacific Ocean, with a view, if possible, to reducing the serious economic waste in ocean tonnage now existing.



AMERICAN-BORN GIRLS OF CHINESE PARENTS PARTICIPATING IN CEREMONIES OPENING THE PAN-PACIFIC COMMERCIAL CONFERENCE

To this end, this conference respectfully suggests that all the governments interested should be invited by the Pan-Pacific Union to send representatives to an international conference to be held in the near future.

Fisheries and Other Topics

A third subject of immediate commercial—and political—importance to the Pacific area on which the Honolulu conference took definite action was that of fisheries. Dr. Barton W. Evermann, director of the museum of the California Academy of Sciences, set the pace in this with an address in which he declared that the waste of marine life has already cost the Pacific nations hundreds of millions of dollars. He estimated that by international action to restore fishing-grounds, seal rookeries and other breeding-places to their former productivity, the Pacific can be made to yield an additional \$500,000,000 annually.

Dr. Evermann, life-long student of marine life, backed his estimates with a long array of figures and with references to the growth and subsequent decline of fisheries on the Pacific Coast. His address proved to be one of the most interesting and fruitful of the conference. Dr. Evermann was appointed chairman of a special committee to bring before the Pacific nations the urgency of the problem.

Only brief reference can be made to several others of the dozen or so resolutions which the conference passed and which are

of interest far beyond the Pacific. Among the outstanding resolutions were:

Commending a plan proposed by the Chinese delegation to station an American cotton expert in China, for the adjustment of difficulties in the Chinese cotton industry.

Indorsing certain engineering projects in China (especially the Hwai valley conservancy project) to control flood waters, redeem lands and prevent periodical famine.

Opposing the export or transportation of opium through the

mails or otherwise from one Pacific country to another; urging more drastic action to check the opium traffic.

Urging the establishment of "Pan-Pacific Commercial Museums" in the principal ports of Pacific countries.

Urging proper control to prevent the exportation of "baneful" moving-picture films from America. Many delegates from the Orient declared that some of the moving pictures are immensely harmful in their misrepresentation of American life.

Commending the project of a permanent Pan-Pacific Chamber of Commerce.

Proposing a Pan-Pacific Conservation Conference at Honolulu in 1924.

Proposing a "Pan-Pacific Cruise" with representatives of various countries proceeding to the principal ports of the Pacific in turn, promoting trade relations but primarily promoting friendship.

But after all it is not so much the resolutions passed at this conference as the atmosphere of friendly intercourse engendered between delegates from differing nationalities that is its greatest value as a factor for peace and progress on the Pacific.

Each delegation goes to its home country pledged to bring to the attention of its government the objects sought by the conference. Even more fruitful will be the fact that each delegation takes home a belief in "the Pan-Pacific idea" as a practical way to approach international problems.



LEARNING TO CAULK JOINTS IN THE INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION'S SCHOOL FOR PLUMBERS, SAN FRANCISCO

THE "AMERICAN PLAN" IN SAN FRANCISCO

BY WARREN RYDER

THE American Plan, as interpreted and enforced by the San Francisco Industrial Association, has been in effect in the city of San Francisco for slightly more than one year. And although it has been demonstrated to be a definite, workable, industrial program, fair to the workers (union or non-union), to the employers and to the public, it does not herald the millennium or promise an end to all industrial controversy—hence is not a cure-all. What it has done is to revive and restore to healthy activity a moribund building industry that was in its virtual death throes on account of long-continued class control. This it accomplished through granting to every man qualified and willing to work, the *right* to work, regardless of whether or not he belonged to a trade union or any other sort of organization; and by abolishing entirely the almost innumerable artificial, senseless, and autocratic rules and regulations imposed by a quarter-century of uninterrupted union labor control. How these rules and

regulations put a premium on waste and very certainly increased building costs materially, will appear from the following examples, which are typical of all such rules that were in force prior to the effectuation of the American Plan:

A rule of the painters' union limited the size of the brush a journeyman could use.

A rule of the bricklayers' union limited the number of bricks a journeyman could lay in a day.

A rule of the electrical workers' union limited the number of "outlets" to be installed in a day.

A rule of the reinforced concrete workers' union prohibited the bending of steel rods by machinery. (In bending by hand, only one at a time could be bent; while in bending by machinery, several could be bent at the same time.)

A rule of the roofers' union forbade the asphalt heater starting work before eight o'clock. In practice this resulted in the rest of the crew loafing for a half or three-quarters of an hour until the asphalt was heated.

All these rules and regulations, of which the foregoing are fair samples, were abrogated through the establishment of the American Plan; and it is interesting to note

that the consensus of opinions of contractors, testifying recently before an Impartial Wage Board, was that the abolition of these rules had increased the efficiency of the workmen at least 20 per cent.

Removing Occasions of Industrial Strife

What the American Plan, as interpreted and enforced by the Industrial Association, promises is lessening of industrial controversy through treating, and, if possible, curing, the cause. How it seeks to cure the cause may be illustrated thus: An agreement between, let us say, the structural iron workers and their employers is found to provide, for instance (1) that the workers can strike on twenty-four hours' notice; or (2) that they cannot strike without ninety days' notice. Obviously, such an agreement contains a readily distinguishable cause of industrial strife, and manifestly the sensible thing to do is to cancel it or, at least, abrogate its offending covenants. That the Industrial Association and the American Plan do—not in a high-handed imperious way, but through friendly and frank conference with representatives of all parties in interest. The Association is making a survey of all agreements between employers and employees, affecting the basic industries of the community, and wherever it has found an agreement, or clause therein, that appeared likely to provoke strife, it has recommended cancellation or modification. And in no case has there been a refusal to abrogate or modify in accordance with its recommendations. So much for this phase of the American Plan program.

Wage Scales Determined by Impartial Authority

Another vital part of it is the method of fixing wages. In former times, wages were as high as a group of workers could drive them, or as low as a contractor could force them—depending on supply and demand—and were, therefore, almost continuously fluctuating. Nothing like a minimum or standard wage was sought to be ascertained and fixed for any craft. For the workers it was "as much as we can get." For the employers, except when operating on the "cost plus" basis, it was "as little as we can force the workers to accept." The public—which in the ultimate pays the cost of everything, including wages, inefficiency, waste and graft—was not considered at all and had no alternative but to pay.

The Industrial Association found this situation existent, and found that it had resulted in a refusal upon the part of the public to build, except in the case of urgent necessity. The Association resolved, therefore, to put an end to this situation; and to set up impartial machinery whereby, in the interest of the whole community, a standard living wage in the building trades—to obtain for a reasonably definite period—might be determined and enforced. Accordingly, in November of 1921, it appointed an Impartial Wage Board, consisting of a Catholic Archbishop, a well-known attorney, and an equally prominent business man—three men whose high standing was an earnest of the fairness of any decision they might reach.

The Impartial Wage Board held a long series of public hearings, at which appeared and testified representatives of the workers, the employers and the general public. Upon the testimony thus received, the board fixed and promulgated a wage scale for the building trades of San Francisco for the calendar year 1922. This scale, which has been enforced as a minimum by the Industrial Association, provided for the more important crafts as follows:

Bricklayers, \$9; carpenters, \$8; electrical workers, \$8; engineers (stationary), \$7; engineers on derricks, \$8; iron workers, \$9; painters, \$8; plasterers, \$10; and plumbers, \$9.

In all, a scale was fixed for forty-eight crafts, and forty-seven of these accepted the scale as just and fair and have worked under it a full year without complaint.

Again in 1922 the same board held public hearings, and promulgated a wage scale for the calendar year 1923, which the Industrial Association has pledged the public it will enforce as a minimum—employers being accorded the right, of course, to reward unusual individual proficiency with wages higher than the scale fixed. In its statement accompanying the wage scale, the Impartial Wage Board predicted that there would be no immediate decrease in the cost of living. It therefore made no wage cuts, but on the contrary increased the wages of eight crafts as follows: bricklayers from \$9 to \$10; bricklayers' hodcarriers from \$6 to \$6.50; cement finishers from \$8 to \$8.50; engineers from \$8 to \$9; glass workers from \$7.50 to \$8; housesmiths (reinforced concrete) from \$7 to \$8; roofers \$7.50 to \$8; and tile setters from \$8 to \$8.50. These

increases, in the language of the Board, are made to "encourage the development of additional mechanics in certain crafts in which there is a shortage," and to "correct what the Board considers to have been inequalities in the last award."

There is frequently heard the contention that the American Plan means low wages. That has not been true in San Francisco, as the following table of comparative wage conditions in the building trades in representative cities of the United States (as of December 1, 1922) will show:

PRIMARY CRAFTS	San Francisco	Los Angeles	Salt Lake	Chicago	Minneapolis	Philadelphia	Indianapolis	Pittsburgh
Bricklayers.....	\$9.00	\$10.00	\$9.00	\$8.80	\$8.00	\$7.20	\$9.20	\$10.40
Carpenters.....	8.00	8.00	7.20	(Open) 8.00	6.40	10.00	7.40	9.00
Cement Finishers.....	8.00	8.00	7.00	6.80	6.40	6.40	7.20	7.00
Electricians.....	8.00	8.00	7.20	8.80	6.40	7.20	8.00	9.00
Lathers.....	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	6.40	7.20	9.00	9.00
Painters.....	8.00	7.00	7.20	10.00	6.40	6.40	7.20	8.00
Plasterers.....	10.00	Ave. 12 10-14	9.00	(Open) 10.00	8.00	Ave. 9 8-10	9.00	9.00
Plumbers.....	9.00	9.00	8.00	7.00	6.40	7.20	9.00	9.00
Sheetmetal Workers.....	8.50	8.00	7.20	(Open) 7.60	6.40	7.20	7.36	8.00
Structural Steel.....	9.00	6.40	7.20	8.40	6.40	7.20	9.00	8.00
Hodcarriers—Bricklayers'.....	7.00	6.00	6-7	(Open) 6.30	5.20	6.00	5.60	(Open) 5.60
Laborers—B. T.....	5.00	4.00	3-4	5.80	4.00	3.50	2.40	(Open) 2.40
Average Wage.....	8.12	7.86	7.18	7.77	6.36	7.04	7.53	7.86

The average for the eight cities is \$7.49—showing San Francisco's to be higher than this average by \$.63.

Schools for Apprentices

It has already been mentioned that the American Plan, as effectuated by the Industrial Association, abrogated at once all those rules and regulations cumulatively imposed by the unions during their twenty-five years of unabridged control of the building industry. Among such rules, common to nearly all building trades crafts, were those that, directly or indirectly, either forbade altogether or sharply limited apprentices. The Industrial Association found that the enforcement of these rules and regulations not only had denied American boys the opportunity to learn a skilled trade, but also had made for inefficiency and higher costs through keeping a constant shortage of mechanics in all crafts; and so immediately abolished them. Having done this,

it proceeded at once to the opening of free schools for the training of apprentices.

Learning Plastering in a School

As the most acute shortage was of plasterers, the first school opened was for the training of apprentices in that craft. Everything was furnished free to the students, the instruction being given by two highly skilled master plasterers. At first, both the journeyman and the "boss" plasterers ridiculed the idea of teaching

plastering in a school, and laughed loud and long when the Army (Beta) intelligence test was employed to select and classify the first group of applicants. Space limitations forbid a detailed account of the workings of this school. Suffice it to say that the students attend it seven hours a day, five and one-half days a week, for twelve weeks, and then go out on jobs for an equal period to gain practical experience; after which they return to the school for instruction in ornamental work. That the school is a success is admitted by the "boss" plasterers, who vie with each other to secure the services of its one hundred graduates, every one of whom is now earning from two to four dollars in excess of the regular apprentice wage of \$2.50 per day—some of them receiving within a dollar or two of full journeyman's wages. The school will be continued until there are enough journeyman plasterers in the community to supply normal building demands.

How Plumbers Are Taught Their Trade

A few weeks after opening the plasterers' school, the Industrial Association opened a school for plumbers. Here the students were put in four groups, according to their intelligence test rating. The first group spent two weeks in the school, under instruction by a skilled master plumber, and then went out for six weeks of practical experience on actual jobs. During this latter period, three more groups took two weeks' training, each, in the school and then went out on jobs. The first group then returned to the school for another two weeks of instruction. This method is followed until each group has had eight weeks of training in the school and twenty-four weeks of experience on jobs. Every one of the group which has completed its time in this school is working at wages from two to five dollars above the apprentice wage (\$2.50) and, according to local contractors, is already more generally proficient than the average itinerant journeyman plumber.

So successful have these schools proved that the Industrial Association, within the next thirty days, will open similar ones for painters and paper-hangers, bricklayers, and iron-moulders. And in passing it may be stated that these schools have attracted inquiries and applicants from such widely distant points as Nashville, Tenn., Norfolk, Va., Minneapolis, Minn., Toledo, O., Cincinnati, O., Butte, Mont., Fargo, N. D., Portland, Me., and Bridgeport, Conn.

Building Activities under the New Plan

In conclusion, it may be well to set out certain figures pertaining to the extent and value of building operations both before and since the taking effect of the American Plan. These figures are as follows:

Year	Value of bldg. permits	Control
1918.....	\$8,000,000.00	Union Labor
1919.....	\$18,500,000.00	" "
1920.....	\$26,000,000.00	" "
1921.....	\$22,500,000.00	" "
1922.....	\$47,965,271.00	Until Oct. 15th. American Plan

The increase in value of building permits in San Francisco during 1922 (the first full year of the American Plan) over the year

preceding (during all but two and one-half months of which the unions were in control) is thus shown to have been approximately 120 per cent., or more than double. The total for 1922 is the greatest by far for any one year in San Francisco's history, except 1906, when enforced building following the great fire totaled fifty-one millions. Of the 1922 total, approximately two-thirds represents brick and concrete construction, and the remainder so-called frame structures; the latter being divided into apartments, flats, single-family houses and bungalows, with apartments and single-family houses greatly predominating. Part of the brick and concrete construction also represents apartment houses, located for the most part in the "down-town" residence section.

The preponderance of apartment houses and flats, particularly the former, in San Francisco, frequently excites the comment of visitors. It is probable that this condition was the result of two things: inadequate transportation to outlying districts and the natural geographical restrictions of the city, the former being the most important. With better street-car service, and the tremendous increase in ownership of automobiles, San Francisco during the last three years—and especially during the year just past—has steadily built up and moved into its outlying districts. In the year 1922, the sales of one concern, specializing in the construction and sale of homes located in one of the city's outlying districts, and ranging in price from ten to twenty thousand dollars, have totaled approximately \$1,500,000. And the president of this concern, it may be remarked in passing, told the writer that he credits the extent of his sales to the renewed public confidence that the American Plan has brought.

The American Plan thus stands approved as a successful *plan*. Whether or not it has met another important test—fairness to labor—finds a direct and emphatic answer in the fact that the Plasterers' Union (one of the strongest labor unions in San Francisco) after a conference between its officials and the officials of the Industrial Association, has just voted three to one to accept and work under the American Plan.

WOOD AS FUEL

BY WARDON A. CURTIS

IN THE spring of 1922, the State Chemist of New Hampshire issued an open letter to the Congressional delegation of his State requesting them to present certain facts to the authorities of the State of Pennsylvania. These facts were that a ton of anthracite coal as sold in New Hampshire contained 25 per cent. of non-combustible matter, that the price of \$16 a ton meant that the purchaser paid \$20 for the actual heat he obtained, and that a great burden was placed upon the railroads in transporting so much absolutely worthless material.

At the very time his letter appeared, throughout northern New England, "stove-fitted" firewood, delivered, was \$8 a cord. The price in the cities, even then, was higher, of course, but it is safe to say that in the States north of the Potomac and Ohio and east of the Missouri, \$8 was the average price of a cord of stove-fitted firewood at any point within one wagon haul from its place of origin. That is, it would be hauled from the wood lot to consumer, even pass through a local wood yard in doing so, or be placed on the cars, F.O.B., for \$8. Indeed, it would be placed on the cars for less than that sum, as shipping it means selling in quantity, the saving of the inevitable loss of some accounts in retailing it. As an average cord of hard wood gives very nearly the same number of thermal units that is given by a ton of pure anthracite coal, the consumer was giving \$20 for the amount of heat in coal that he could get for \$8 in wood.

Who Gets the Enhanced Price?

Of course firewood is much higher in price during the present fuel shortage than it is normally. But even so, the timber-lot owner gets but small part of this increased price. The writer has watched firewood loaded at stations in the Lake States, the Gulf States, the Ohio Valley States, the New England States, has seen it come in on wheels, on runners, and one winter in Indiana on stone-boats, the dividing line between water and mud in the road being

quite uncertain, and only rarely has he ever known the producer, the wood-lot owner, to get even full day's wages for himself and animals, to say nothing of anything whatever for the wood. The wood has been a gift, has served to give the farmer or teamster a chance for employment for himself and animals when otherwise he would have none.

When you see four-foot oak wood placed on the cars at Blue Mounds, Wisconsin, for \$2 a cord and find the same wood sold twenty-eight miles away at Madison for \$7 a cord, you think here is a grievous wrong, and proceed to accuse the fuel dealer of extortion. But when you count the number of times every stick of the final stove-wood size has been lifted and also probably thrown, from the time the tree is felled to the time it is placed in the buyer's shed and find that this number is at least thirteen and more often sixteen, you say nothing about extortion.

Firewood, as we have said, is higher during the present fuel famine. If the miners strike again next April, as they now threaten, it will continue to be high. But the producer's price will probably continue to be the price now offered for wood in the writer's own forest, some of it a quarter of a mile from a railroad station, all of it within two miles of another station and a town—the unprecedented price of \$2.50 a cord on the stump. When you reflect that a cord of wood is assumed to contain 750 board feet and that oak and birch flooring in our State to-day costs \$110 per thousand you realize how low the original "stumpage" is, what an enormous part of the price of the finished product comes from the wages of the many who handle it as it passes along.

Heat Value of Different Woods

If the coal shortage drags, you will wish to get some firewood and it will be high, for wood, but seldom will it cost you for the amount of thermal units you obtain, what anthracite coal was costing you even before

the strike. Here in the midst of one coal famine, with another one imminent, the availability of wood for fuel, its heat value, the methods of using it, suddenly become of interest to a generation that has had little knowledge of it as a heat producer. Forty or fifty years ago, we ran factories and railroads with it, heated public buildings with it. But to-day it is little used except on farms, where it is the chief fuel, and in towns of three thousand and under—towns too small for a gas plant and the where-withal for gas stoves.

The heat value of various woods has been studied in a painstaking way by a number of scientists and several tables, varying somewhat, give these values. Probably the results obtained in the laboratories of Harvard University are the most generally accepted as standard. These tests find that a cord of either white oak or hickory gives exactly the same amount of heat as a ton of pure anthracite—pure, you understand. These woods are taken as standard, are called 100 per cent., and other woods are reckoned by the number of thermal units they fall short of or exceed these. In one table, hickory and sweet birch are reckoned as 103, instead of 100, and yellow birch, which usually appears as 97, is also classed as 103. This variation is easily accounted for. Wood is not of uniform density. A smelted, wrought material may show exact uniformity, but not things that grow, that live. There is a

decided difference in the density of trees of the same kind growing under different conditions. Swamp or red maple, for instance, in some tables is only 75 per cent. and gets up to 93 per cent. in others. A swamp maple actually justifying its name of swamp is a very different tree in density, hardness, strength from the swamp maples on the granite mountainside at which I look up as I write this. After all, the percentage of heat is a matter of weight, which is a matter of density, usually. Not in the case of the red, black, yellow, oak family and the live oak, whose apparent greater weight compared with the white, burr, post, oak family is due not to superior density, but to high water content. Red oak holds water not merely months, but years.

Relative Worth of Pine

A cord of average oak, maple, beech, birch, at present prices of anthracite, \$16 and \$17, is worth at least that. If the coal contains much dross, the relative value of the wood is greater. On the basis of thermal units, a cord of white pine is worth but \$8 to \$6—\$8 if your \$16-a-ton coal is 25 per cent. slate. It takes two and a half cords of white pine to give the same amount of heat as a ton of pure anthracite.

Yet it is possible so to plan your use of pine that its relative worth is much higher. There is a wide chance for error if in the aim to estimate the efficacy of wood as fuel you rely too closely upon the laboratory tests as your guide. Pine gives a low number of heat units for its cubic contents. Yet for a quick fire in the kitchen stove, a quick and above all a brief fire, it gives more for the money than does hardwood. The stove delivers its heat by radiation. The big flames of the pine heat the stove covers more rapidly than do the coals of oak. If you wish to save time by getting your fire going quickly, want a forced fire, pine is a more economical fuel than hardwood. It lights quickly, burns quickly, goes out quickly—all great virtues in summer-time, if not at other seasons.

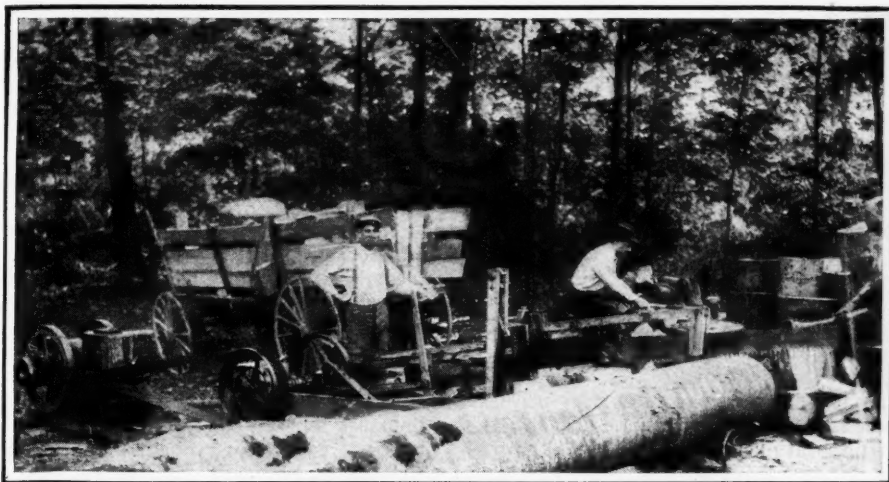
How to "Keep" a Wood Fire

But in winter, in a coal shortage, you are thinking of heating your living rooms rather than of cooking. In towns, the gas range reigns and there will be enough soft coal to supply gas. The shortage will be in coal for the furnace or stove. Can you



HARVESTING FUEL WOOD IN NEW YORK STATE

(Part of a campaign to relieve the coal shortage, conducted by the College of Forestry at Syracuse University)



A GASOLINE ENGINE RIGGED TO FURNISH POWER FOR A DRAG SAW

(The two men toward the right of the picture are chopping the sawed sections into sticks suitable for the stove. The wood is being cut under the auspices of the New York State College of Forestry, at Syracuse University, as a demonstration of what could be done during the coal shortage)

make your wood fire last all night, as your coal fire would last? On a very cold night, you may need to replenish the fire, but that is true of coal fires on very cold nights. An excellent device to ensure the fire lasting is to have some green wood piled on top of the dry wood. This green wood will not ignite until it has dried out somewhat and this postpones its burning, keeps it in reserve. If you are using green wood in this way, you may use rather inferior woods to "keep" your fire—gray birch, which is only a 75 per cent. wood. An interesting tree, this gray birch, hybrid of the poplar and paper birch that it is, so squirmy, so precocious, full of exuberant activity in youth and so soon passing into decline and death, a phoenix of trees, the stump throwing up a maze of new shoots before the dying trunk is fully through its last throes. For keeping your fire, some member of the red oak family is best, as I have mentioned, because even if sticks of these varieties have stood in a shed since the year before the Great War, as some of ours have stood in our wood-shed erected the year after the Revolutionary War, they still retain some moisture. For all night wood, round sticks, unsplit sticks are best, last longest. But during the day, when you want warmth, you will find split wood more economical than round chunks. The chunks have few points of contact, to have the fire burn well, you must have the draft open,

the heat goes up chimney, the wood disappears without much result. But if you would have split wood, sticks which lie flat on one another, with wide area of contact, you can close drafts, have a good heat with a small quantity of fuel.

Actual Cubic Contents of a Cord

If you buy your wood "stove-fitted," in twelve- or sixteen-inch lengths, you do not have to worry over the question of "cleft wood" or "round wood," "trunk" or "limbs." Cleft wood means the cord-wood stick as part of a split tree trunk, has a flat side, and is four feet long. It is believed that this form packs tighter in the pile than does round wood and that the purchaser gets more for his money. Theoretically, a cord of wood contains 128 cubic feet and, measured over all, it does. But the intervals between sticks, the interstices, diminish that ideal 128 very much. The Harvard engineering school at its summer camp piled wood for a number of years and weighed the wood after piling. They found that on an average cleft wood ran 80 actual solid cubic feet to a cord and that very straight round wood of four or five to ten inches in diameter exceeded this by some 5 feet. But when it came to limbs, crooked, with many prongs, so small that the number of interstices was much multiplied, the actual number of solid cubic feet fell as low as 45.

The Moisture in Wood

Unless kiln-dried, fuel wood never becomes bone dry. Even in a shed, it normally retains 25 per cent of its original moisture. Assuming this as a constant quantity, discussing only the 75 per cent. of moisture it can lose, it takes a whole year of seasoning to arrive in this condition. But in the first three months it will achieve 85 per cent. of its full efficiency as fuel, will reach 90 per cent. in six months, and 95 per cent. in nine. You will dry your wood faster if you will leave it in the open air a month or so and then place it under a roof. It will be brighter, better wood than if piled damp in the solid piles necessary when in limited space under cover. If it is birch, it must be split before attempting to dry it. Birch bark is as impervious to moisture as so much rubber and enclosed in that air-tight integument the wood underneath turns to powder. The hair powder of the days of Louis Fourteenth and Charles Second was merely disintegrated birch wood. All wood splits very readily when green, best of all when frozen. Birch is very difficult to split when dry and eucalyptus, the coming fuel wood of California and Florida, when dry is unsplittable.

Northern pitch pine and the Southern pines, of which it is the poor relation leading a sickly life in a climate to which it has not yet succeeded in adjusting itself, require more than a year to mellow into combustibility. These are trees which the woodsman tells you never rot. In 1901, I was shown several square miles of a strange sight in a forest of long-leaf yellow pines. Great mature pines reared themselves everywhere. Yet at their feet lay the trunks of other trees as numerous and larger than they, still hard. I was told that this piece of ancient forest had been cast down in that great disturbance which created Lake St. Francis in Arkansas in 1814—a stupendous geological event of which we have almost no direct testimony because the region was so thinly inhabited and because no person of even moderate scientific attainments was on the ground. "Light wood," they tell you in the Gulf States, must lie on the ground three years before it is available for fuel. The "pine knot" the Maine hunter joyfully seizes for his evening fire, may have been part of a living tree thirty years before.

Thinning Forests for Fuel Wood

Is it good public policy to recommend using wood for fuel? No, not as it has been used. But if used as European countries use it, yes. When a pine forest, for example, begins as small seedlings, the number on an acre may be between fifteen hundred and two thousand. At maturity, probably between one hundred and two hundred will have survived, survived attacks of animal and insect enemies, the assaults of the wind, sun scald, the denuding of the soil by rain, but far more than anything else, the competition of the other trees, all struggling for soil, water, and sunlight enough. In any normal forest an immense amount of fuel wood can be removed with great economic gain. Trees that otherwise would fall and rot, can be converted into fuel. Not merely that, but the growth of the remaining trees will be accelerated to a degree positively astonishing.

I wish to emphasize this matter of accelerated growth. We have had so much timber in this country, we have so maltreated and wasted our forests that planted forests, cultivated forests, have not only been seen by few persons, but have hardly been thought of. I have seen only one such forest of any age and, being invited to guess the age of two forest tracts, I guessed one to be forty years older than the other. Of course, if I had walked into them and counted the whorls on the tree trunks, I would have at once seen they were of the same age. But I observed them from a little distance. One tract had been thinned thirteen years before, the other left in its natural state. The trees in the thinned tract were so much taller and thicker that I believed them forty years older. Trees removed by thinning are chosen for a variety of reasons. They may be deformed. Which prevents them being useful for lumber. They may be too small for lumber in any dimension American trade will now accept. Very often they can be used for paper pulp, however, which would remove them as fuel possibilities.

There is great opportunity for the use of wood fuel with resulting advantage, not detriment, to the timber supply. But the use of the splendid oaks and maples of New England, the splendid oaks and ashes of the Middle States and the splendid oaks and hickories of the South for fuel must stop.

The purchaser has demanded "good wood." The fact that the wood he burns could have been used for manufacture and construction, gratifies a latent destructiveness and greed, apparently. So it has seemed to me in many years of arguing against the use for fuel of trees that would make furniture and flooring. "Got to have good wood."

The Charge of Profiteering

In the emergency of the present year and the very possible emergency of next year, we are going to burn much more wood than we do ordinarily. Prices will be higher, and the unthinking shout of profiteering will rise, of course—an indication of a lack of ordinary reasoning power that makes one sometimes wonder how we continue to be a republic. As I have already said, wood as ordinarily supplied for fuel is a total gift of the raw material and is furnished at less than standard wages of men and horses in ordinary employment. For example: One winter I saw a man haul with four mules a great ash log to a station in Orange County, Indiana. He got thirty cents for the log. That was in the early nineteen hundreds and thirty cents then was about what a dollar is now. I asked him how he could do it. He said, "I have the wood land; I have the mules; can't plant in winter; had to come to town to-day anyway; needed kerosene; can buy the kerosene with what the log brings." The New England farmer states the case in about the same way. He has a pile of cord wood in his yard and when he has to go to town anyway, hauls a load. But now that the demand for fuel wood increases, the situation radically changes. The wood-lot owner could give his wood and part of his labor in order to get employment in an otherwise idle time. But he can't invite in wood-choppers and haulers to do the necessarily increased work and not only give his wood, but give the balance between the wages he was content to receive



FUEL WOOD IN THE BACK-YARD OR LOT

and the standard wages. Ruination for him.

The promoter who enters the wood business must have enough to buy the wood, to pay standard wages, and to pay the interest on the capital the enterprise requires, and be paid for his time and his administrative ability. Yet already we hear cries that the legislatures, the Congress, must investigate increased prices for wood, the usual cry, "there ought to be a law," the talisman that is supposed to exorcise all economic ills. Yes, in my State they are not only calling for an investigation of prices of cord wood, but of turkeys. A generation ago, the ridge poles of our barns were covered with turkeys; they were driven along the road like cattle. Gobblers would be heard through all this countryside to-day as in the past generation if there were money in turkeys any more. Cord wood has gone up in obedience to that old rule of political economy, "the margin of cultivation." The moment the demand increases, the number of people who will supply it at less than cost of material and labor, becomes insufficient.





THE SECRETARY OF LABOR, HON. JAMES J. DAVIS, OPENING THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE

(On the platform, from left to right, are: Mrs. Fred Upton; Mrs. E. J. Henning; Miss Grace Abbott, chief of the Children's Bureau, in the Department of Labor; Secretary Davis; Miss Mary Anderson, chief of the Women's Bureau; and the Assistant Secretary of Labor, Mr. E. J. Henning)

THE WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE

BY MARJORIE SHULER

A MOST significant indication of the new trend among women is the National Women's Industrial Conference, which met in Washington from January 11 to 13 at the call of the United States Department of Labor. The conference was attended by some 400 women, representing 60 national organizations, and drawn from 41 States.

With the entrance of women into the suffrage there was a perceptible inclination to stress welfare movements. That was natural and probably to be expected, since women's "peculiar interests" had been emphasized throughout the suffrage campaign as the principal reason for permitting women to declare themselves in government. But now that women have been voting for more than two years a new tendency is manifesting itself, a tendency toward the study of economics and the thorough investigation of general problems which affect women and men equally. Women voters are coming to see that only in the understanding of economics can they find a solution for the most pressing problems which confront them, whether those problems are identified with their "peculiar interests" or not. They are coming to

realize that only in a comprehension of the fundamentals of government can they fulfill their opportunities for service, with their ballots, for themselves or for others.

In this light the industrial conference was of even greater interest than was apparent on the surface. To inform women about women was its object. To call the attention of the women of the entire nation to the problems of women in industry, and to give all women an opportunity to help in the development of policies and standards for the effective employment of women in industry—this was the underlying purpose of the conference.

At the present time there are employed in industry throughout the United States 8,500,000 women, or one out of every four in the country. To study the numerical divisions of those women for the last ten years reveals the unmistakable fact that women are slowly but surely emerging into positions which pay larger wages, with better conditions and higher standing in the community. For instance, while the number of women in domestic and personal service has decreased from 31.3 to 25.6, and in agriculture from 22.4 to 12.7, the percentage in professional service has jumped

from 9.1 to 11.9 and in trade it has similarly increased from 5.8 to 7.8.

But there still remain millions of women in the lower industrial strata, women whose wages are as low as \$8 and \$9 a week, whose working hours often run to twelve and thirteen a day, whose conditions of work are far from satisfactory. The Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor has made investigations covering 46,700 women and 778 establishments in five States during the past year. In Alabama more than one-half and in South Carolina more than four-fifths of the industrial women were found to be scheduled for ten hours or more a day and 55 hours or more a week. The median wage for white women in these States ranged from \$8.80 a week in Alabama to \$12.65 in Missouri. Out of 10,411 women in 223 establishments in Iowa 2.8 per cent. worked 60 hours a week or more.

In Kansas women were found to be supporting dependents on \$8 a week. In Rhode Island one-quarter of the women surveyed were earning less than \$13 a week and 7.7 per cent. less than \$10 a week.

These were the conditions which led Miss Mary Anderson, chief of the Women's Bureau, to call the conference. What possibility is there for the working woman to make an individual adjustment of her problems? Can sufficient solidarity be developed among the workers—between the younger women whose indifference is largely due to their hope of escape from the factory by marriage and the older women whose dullness is in great measure the result of heavy home cares and dependent children—so that these two groups will draw together and give the time and interest necessary to develop their own organizations and handle their own problems? Or is the solution in so-called "protective" legislation for women in industry? If protective legislation for women becomes general, will it improve the standards for men workers? Or will it shut women out of better positions and limit them to lower grades of industrial employment?

Since the list of speakers was made up of manufacturers and factory inspectors, public health experts and government statisticians, economists and government administrators, a wide range of opinion was presented. This topic came again and again to the surface, but on the final day it was given the entire attention of the

delegates. Discussion was opened by Miss Melinda Scott of the United Textile Workers of America, who argued that "until women have grown strong and capable enough to secure better conditions for themselves, they should be protected by special legislation since the exploitation of unskilled women workers has as bad an effect upon the wages of men as upon the wages of women."

There was a fortunate tendency to regard this entire question as part of the general one of equality between men and women, and to seek the recognition of that equality through emphasis upon the common interests of men and women, rather than through condemnation of present differentiations between the sexes.

The discussion developed along certain directed lines. For instance, there was the pithy question of Miss Anderson: "Does industrial equality consist of identity of method or identity of result." Men secure an eight-hour day by trade agreement; women have it by law. It is the equality of result that is important to the working woman, argued the speakers.

Then there was Miss Mary Van Kleeck, director of the Department of Industrial Studies, Russell Sage Foundation, who was the first chief of the Women's Bureau at the time of its organization in 1919. "It is not sufficient to demand equality of opportunity with men," said Miss Van Kleeck. "This leaves untouched the many disadvantages under which men also suffer. Not equality with men, but opportunity to use a woman's own powers in their fullest development, is the real goal for a woman in a vocation."

The sentiment was heavily in favor of protective legislation, in spite of the arguments of those on the other side and in spite of such a glowing picture of factory life as that painted by Charles Cheney, of the National Association of Manufacturers, who said:

I have no hesitation in saying that the transfer of work from the home to the factory has marked a tremendous advance for the women. They leave the house every day and dress to meet the world. Both excellent means of breaking the monotony of life and of getting air and movement. They work in well lighted, well ventilated, and sanitary rooms which are vastly superior in these respects to home surroundings. They receive compensation far in excess of anything ever received for home work. They have a much wider social contact than formerly. The hours of work are relatively short, and the amount of work demanded is not excessive."

Mr. Cheney explained the lower wage given women by saying that they change occupations oftener than men, causing greater overhead, that they lose by absence about twice as much time as men do, that in many of their tasks they have to be assisted or supplemented by men, and that they present many problems in connection with the shop, "being sensitive and therefore requiring extraordinarily tactful and kindly treatment and much personal consideration."

Another speaker from the point of view of the employer was Miss Mary Gilson, superintendent of employment and service department of the Joseph and Feiss Company, Cleveland. Miss Gilson deplored the claim that there cannot be mutuality of interest between employers and employees. She declared that there is no question in the world that more deeply concerns the whole fabric of the home and society than the increasing employment of married women in industry. The answer to the question, she declared, will not be found by closing the doors of industry and opportunity to married women, but rather in the individual adjustment of home work and the larger opportunities for advancement in the factory.

The special problems which were taken up by the conference were home work, wages, and health standards. An attack upon home work as the parasite upon industry, and a plea for minimum wage rates or commissions on the basis of the cost of living as agreed to by representatives of employers, were made by Mrs. Florence Kelley, general secretary of the Consumers' League. Mrs. Kelley pointed to the increasing menace of home work superinduced by the ease with which the parcel post enables materials and products to be sent back and forth from the factories throughout the rural districts.

Wages based on minimum wage rates were strongly urged by a number of the speakers. "Industry can afford a living wage," advised Mrs. Maud Swartz, of New York City, president of the National Women's Trade Union League. "The opponents of minimum wage rates greatly overestimate the cost to industry and underestimate the gain from reducing the turnover, saving time now spent in conflicts and doing away with the need for charity."

Again and again there was brought forward the fact that women in industry have dependents, that they as well as men are

responsible for family support. Wages cannot be based upon the belief that a man is head of the family and should be allowed so much for himself, wife, and three children, while a woman should be paid on the basis of individual support only.

A clear determination is working itself out in the United States that mothers of young children are to be allowed to devote themselves to the building up of sound family life, said Miss Sophonisba P. Breckinridge of the University of Chicago. If husbands are working, mothers and children should be maintained out of the earnings of the husbands, which calls for an adequate wage for husbands who can and will work and disciplinary measures for those who will not. These two doctrines are to be supplemented by mothers' aid laws for the wives of those who cannot work.

The conviction that voting women will cast their ballots according to the measure of human welfare applied to the political party in power, was expressed by Mrs. Raymond Robins, president of the International Federation of Working Women.

The spirit of the conference, the coming together of women of all classes and all groups to consider the common problems and in common enlightenment to seek the natural and right solutions, was ably summed up by Hon. James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor, who said:

Serious problems confront us in relation to the women who have taken their place in the industrial life of our nation, and since these problems are peculiar to womanhood it is eminently fitting that the womanhood of the nation should lend its advice and aid in meeting them.

These problems are many and varied. . . . In almost all lines of endeavor women are at work side by side with men, sharing the same conditions, conforming to the same standards, and turning out the same product. . . .

"Women in industry form a new condition in our life. Throughout long ages men have struggled in the relation of employer and employee. The male worker through years of effort has clearly defined his position, has definitely established his standard of wages and working conditions. In many cases he is organized to maintain the rights and privileges he has won as a worker. Women in industry are largely without the protection which has come to the male worker through the traditions of his craft and the long years of precedent which surround his employment. . . .

I need not impress upon you that these problems are more than mere matters of industrial technique, or of industrial efficiency. They are problems essentially human, which must be met and solved from the human viewpoint. . . . We must see to it that we do not sacrifice motherhood upon the altar of greed for industrial production.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

Lloyd George on Europe's New Militarism

THE publication of ex-Premier Lloyd George's memoirs of the war has been temporarily postponed, and the contract of the *New York Times* and *Chicago Tribune*, which had proposed to syndicate these memoirs in a large number of American newspapers, has been cancelled. Meanwhile, Mr. Lloyd George is supplying the Hearst newspapers with a series of articles on topics of the day. In the *New York American* of January 7th there appeared an article by him which attempted to define the real cause of war among nations. He began by quoting a remark once made to him by Marshal Foch, to the effect that he considered the German Army in 1914 the finest army the world ever saw in numbers, organization, training and equipment. To the question, what set that army in motion, Lloyd George makes this reply:

Were it not that the German army was more perfect and more potent than either the French or Russian army—were it not that every German officer was convinced that the German military machine was superior to all its rivals—there would have been no war, whatever Emperors, diplomatists or statesmen said, thought or intended.

It is clear that nations are incited to ruthlessness when they have a sense of overpowering force behind their national aims. Elaborating this idea, Mr. Lloyd George proceeds to make an important distinction between navies and armies. Countries can not be invaded, nor can capitals be captured by fleets. Navies, indeed, are defensive weapons. But armies are characterized by Lloyd George as "grabbing machines." If a country has a powerful army and sees that adjacent territory can easily be won, there will sooner or later be aggression. Nations cannot resist this lure. Therefore, without disarmament, treaties and covenants are not worth the paper they are written on.

What is the military situation of Europe to-day? Mr. Lloyd George declares that

there are more men under arms than there were in 1913-14, and with less justification. Germany and Austria, formerly great military empires, have disappeared. Germany, before the war, had a peace establishment of 800,000 men and reserves running into millions. To-day her total army numbers 100,000 men—about one-third the size of the Polish army. Austria, which in 1913-14 had a peace establishment of 420,000 men, and a reserve of two or three millions of trained men, has now a nominal force of 30,000 men. These countries, therefore, no longer afford their neighbors any valid ground for maintaining large armaments.

Other European nations, however, show a remarkable increase in their military establishments. France has an army of 736,000 men now under arms, with a trained reserve of 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 more. In 1914 she had an air force of 400 airplanes; to-day she has 1152, including bombers far more destructive than any that she possessed in 1914. It is said that a single bomb dropped from one of the new bombers contains more explosive material than 100 of those carried by the old type.

Rumania alone, with a population of 15,000,000, has an army twice the size of that allowed by the Treaty of Versailles to Germany, with her population of 60,000,000.

As to the Russian Army, the latest figure given by the Russians themselves gives the number of men as 800,000. It is believed, however, that this force is powerful only for defense and is of little value for purposes of invasion.

* All the smaller European countries are maintaining larger armies than Frederick the Great or Louis XIV of France ever commanded in their years of power. Moreover, the cost of these armaments to-day is wholly out of proportion to the number of units composing them. No one can doubt that Europe's economic recovery is seriously retarded by the cost of these armaments.

The French Financial Case

SALIENT facts in the present financial situation of France are set forth in an article contributed by Ambassador Myron T. Herrick to the *New York Times* for December 31. Mr. Herrick writes as an experienced banker who has had unusual opportunities to obtain from leading financial authorities in France the fullest information.

Mr. Herrick asks his readers in the first place to bear in mind the consequence of the tremendous fighting that took place in French territory:

The 1,400,000 men killed, the 8,400,000 men mobilized, the ten departments invaded and partially devastated, would mean proportionately for the United States, 4,200,000 men killed, 25,000,000 men mobilized, four States (among the richest and most industrial) invaded and partially devastated.

Nevertheless, instead of "sitting down and waiting for German money" as a New York paper wrote a few weeks ago, this is what France has done without external help, and from her own resources, in the arduous times that have followed the armistice:

Population evacuated, 4,690,000 inhabitants; returned, 4,335,000. Municipalities evacuated, 3,256; returned, 3,216. Schools destroyed, 7,271; restored, 6,884. Areas devastated, 4,000,000 acres; tilled anew, 3,000,000 acres. Railroads destroyed (standard), 1,000 miles; repaired, 1,000 miles. Railroads destroyed (local), 1,400 miles; repaired, 800 miles. Factories employing more than twenty workmen destroyed, 4,700; restored, 3,645.

Priority has been given, for obvious reasons, to productive work, and the homesteads have come in last.

Homesteads destroyed, 711,883; provisionally repaired, 329,000; homesteads rebuilt, 671.

This is why so many inhabitants still live in dug-outs, cellars, corrugated iron huts, etc. . . . The problem is to know whether France must leave these people as they are, or whether, failing payments from Germany, she can load that immense burden on her own shoulders.

France has spent up to now for reparation 9,000,000,000 francs; she has received from Germany about 1,500,000,000.

At the same time remarkable efforts have been made to correct the financial consequences of the war.

Circulation of bank notes: Maximum reached in November, 1920, 39,600,000,000 francs; to-day, 36,500,000,000 francs.

Indebtedness of the State to the Bank of France: Maximum reached in 1920, 26,700,000,000 francs; to-day, 23,500,000,000 francs.

Trade bills held by the Bank of France when the war broke out and extended, about 3,500,000,000 francs; outstanding to-day, 36,000,000 francs.

This last figure is particularly striking and speaks highly for the character of the French tradesman and his sense of commercial honor.

The taxes—contrary to what is often said—are now very high in France. Bearer securities (the usual form here) pay between 20 and 23 per cent.

income tax; the supertax for incomes of \$50,000 and above is 50 per cent. Total, 70 to 73 per cent.

The average burden of taxes in France, according to the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, is \$52 a head, as against \$32 in the United States for 1921-22 and \$27 for 1922-23.

It is morally impossible for France not to rebuild the homesteads. This means spending between 60,000,000,000 and 100,000,000,000 francs more. It looks as if France would have to provide that money herself.

Result: The United States will have one debt (war expenses), Great Britain will have two debts (war expenses and indebtedness to the United States), France will have three debts (war expenses, indebtedness to the United States or Great Britain and reconstruction).

On the other hand, if some people can have their way, Germany will have no debt at all, for she has no exterior debt except reparations, and if reparations are waived, Germany, having no reconstruction to effect at home, her interior debt (war expenses) would be reduced to practically nothing by the process of stabilizing the mark at, say, one-hundredth of its gold value. Is this fair?

The French people feel that if Germany is allowed to escape all liabilities in this way, a terrible precedent will have been created.

If ever another conflict takes place, no restraint will be put upon wanton destruction; if the aggressor is victorious, nobody will ask questions; if he is defeated, he will simply say that he is unable to pay.

France is naturally solicitous that she shall never again have to endure the ills of such a conflict. To prevent a recurrence, these two things are required:

(1) A minimum of security on land and sea; (2) a confidence in the help of other great democracies.

This confidence she possesses, in spite of the fact that there is no written undertaking. But such help, even if absolutely sure to come, cannot be immediate. The first great battle of the last war was fought less than a month after its declaration, i. e., too soon for many British or any Americans whatever to arrive in France. Supposing America had declared war on the 1st of August, 1914. The first United States troops would have got into battle about ten months later. In other words, France would have had to fight—without them—the Battle of Charleroi, the first Battle of the Marne, the Battle of the Yser, the Race to the Sea, and the first battle in La Champagne.

France, therefore, has got to keep ready at all times the men, the material, the guns and the technical equipment, failing which, her country could be overrun in three months and the Americans would have to land at Gibraltar.

In the same way France must have a navy sufficient not only to protect her coasts along three seas, but also sufficient to insure the safety of her troop transports from North Africa, where she has large reserves of men, both French and colonial.

The fact that France is determined to get and keep that indispensable minimum of military and naval equipment is dubbed "militarism."

Now, here are a few facts:

Before the World War the term of service in the French Army was three years. It is now eighteen months—a reduction to 50 per cent. of what it was.

Yearly expenses for army and navy, all told, including the colonies, amount to \$380,000,000. The British Empire, not including the Dominions, spends \$820,000,000, and the United States (we have not the exact figures) spend about as much as the British. France has suffered too much from war to want more of it.

Frenchmen are hard at work repairing the destruction wrought during the hostilities. They try to find at home the money to do it with. They owe five and one-quarter billion dollars to the United States and England; they are owed one and three-quarter billion dollars by other Allies and fourteen and one-quarter billion dollars by Germany. Their balance sheet, therefore, ought to be a good one. But if their assets are taken away from them while their liabilities remain, and if in addition they have to raise money for reconstruction at home, how can the thing be done?

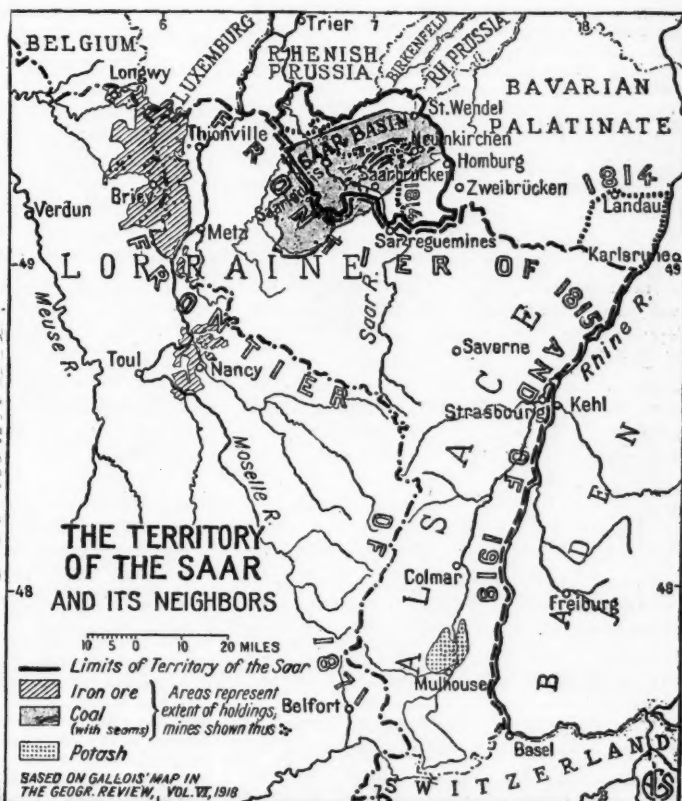
The Saar Valley as It Is To-day

THE disposition of the Saar Basin is recalled to-day as one of the chief points of controversy in the Versailles Treaty, which assigned to the League of Nations the administration of the Saar. That administration has now had three years of trial, and in the current number of *Foreign Affairs* (New York) Professor Charles H. Haskins sums up the results on the basis of documentary material, supplemented by personal observation and conference. Dr. Haskins, who is Professor of History and Dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, was chief of the division of Western Europe in the American delegation at Paris. It fell to his lot to make a careful examination of conditions in the Saar from the historical standpoint, and from first to last there was probably no one connected with the Peace Conference who possessed a fuller knowledge of the facts of the situation.

In summarizing the problems with which the Saar

Commission has had to deal, Professor Haskins says:

The Territory of the Saar, as created by the Treaty of Versailles, has an area of about 700 square miles and a population of nearly 700,000. Lying along the new French frontier in Lorraine, it was made up partly from a strip of the Bavarian Palatinate but chiefly from land which had been Prussian since 1815. About one-third of the district falls between the Franco-German frontier of 1814



and that of 1815. It is a pleasant region on either side of the River Saar, with field and forest running to the edge of mine and city in agreeable contrast to most industrial districts of Europe and America. The chief natural resource is the coal mines, which yielded in 1913 an annual output of seventeen and one-half million tons, or 8 per cent. of the total coal production of the German Empire. About the mines there has grown up an important group of iron and steel plants and other manufactures, the whole constituting a densely populated industrial district closely connected with the iron mines of Lorraine. The population is predominantly Catholic, as in the neighboring Rhineland, and almost wholly German-speaking.

The primary purpose of the Saar clauses of the treaty was to give France a secure and much needed means of reparation in the coal mines of this district, which lie within a dozen miles of the French frontier, without permitting the annexation of the inhabitants. The Peace Conference took the view that France was entitled to the mines of the Saar in compensation for the deliberate destruction of her mines in the north and as an item on the general account of reparations, and that she should have every facility for their exploitation. The mines, chiefly the property of the Prussian and Bavarian Governments, were accordingly transferred to the French state in full ownership; while the administration of the territory was handed over to a commission of the League of Nations for fifteen years, at the end of which period a plebiscite should decide the future status of the district, whether for union with France or Germany, or for a continuation, with necessary adjustments, of local autonomy under the League. In the meantime the inhabitants "retain their local assemblies, their religious liberties, their schools and their language," and are exempt from military service, while the Governing Commission has "all the powers of government hitherto belonging to the German Empire, Prussia, or Bavaria."

In planning for a strong governing commission the framers of the Treaty sought to have it free from local obstruction on the one hand and secure on the other from interference in current matters by the Council of the League. The five members of the Commission were to be appointed for annual terms only, so that the control would be kept in the hands of the League, but it was expected that normally members would serve for a number of years and that re-appointment would be denied only in case of inefficiency or abuse of power. The Commission was made the interpreter of its own powers without any superior court or administrative body to restrain it. A strong executive was thought necessary because of the highly concentrated economic life of the territory and the conflicting interests.

The Council of the League named as French representative and chairman of the Commission M. Victor Rault, an experienced administrator; as local member

Herr Alfred von Boch, who resigned in August, 1920, and was succeeded by Dr. Hector; and for the three other members, a Belgian, Major Lambert; a Dane, long resident in Paris, Count von Moltke-Huitfeld; and a Canadian, Mr. R. D. Vaughn, formerly Mayor of Winnipeg.

The Treaty was not really put into effect until the early months of 1920, and this delay only made more difficult the problems of the Commission. At the outset the Commission had to take over the railroads of the territory, and in spite of the predictions of both French and German authorities, has succeeded in managing them successfully as a separate system and with favorable financial returns.

The coal mines, which form the principal resource of the Saar, are beyond the control of the Commission, being owned and operated directly by the French state. It is generally agreed, says Professor Haskins, that the management of the mines has been a decided success. Production has steadily increased; sales have been well handled in spite of the special difficulties of the international coal market; and Saar coal is sold in Germany as well as in France. The French engineers have got on well with the mine workers. Business in the Saar, as elsewhere in Europe, is not as good as it was before the war, but in Professor Haskins' opinion the Saar has suffered less than adjacent regions. Owing to the steady depreciation of the mark in relation to the franc, the monetary situation is one of special difficulty in the Saar. By the terms of the Treaty "no prohibition or restriction shall be imposed upon the circulation of French money in the territory," and the mining administration from the start took advantage of its right to pay its employees in francs. The effect was to forestall strikes by raising the real wages of the miners while it accentuated the disadvantages to the rest of the population, who continued to be paid in marks.

Professor Haskins believes that the history of the Saar Territory up to the present time justifies three main conclusions:

The first is that as a measure of reparation the mines of the Saar have proved an unqualified success. The French have got the coal they needed, and the mining population has thrived. Moreover, the mines of the Saar constitute the only significant asset of reparation which France has so far received, and the hope of other forms of payment has steadily diminished, as regards both certainty and promptness. Those who are opposed to ef-

fective reparation are naturally opponents of the Saar settlement.

The second conclusion is that the Governing Commission is a serious, hard-working body, which, while apparently guilty of occasional mistakes, has labored earnestly for what it considers the good of the population. In all its fundamental decisions it has been sustained by the Council of the League of Nations, and it is indirect testimony to its honest execution of the Treaty of Versailles that its critics are beginning to direct their efforts toward revision of the instrument under which it acts. Outside of the field of political agitation, there is evidence of friendly relations between the central bureaus of the Commission and the population, who seek advice and help on a variety of matters which under

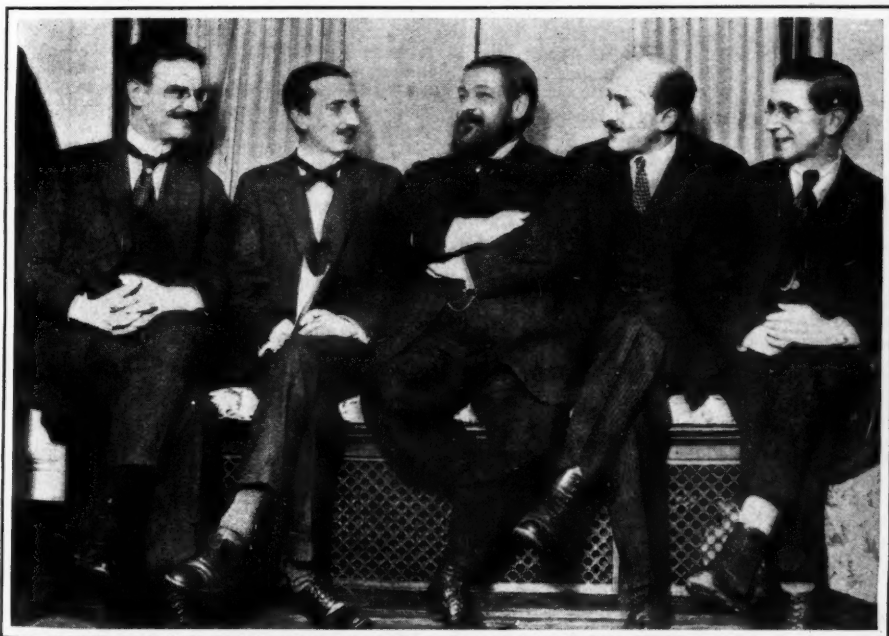
previous administrations they kept to themselves.

In the third place, whatever good work the Commission has done and may do is likely to receive scant recognition from German nationalist elements. Indeed the better the Commission succeeds, the louder is likely to be the expression of their discontent. Such protestors plainly protest too much. They would be more effective if they were animated less by future German interests and more by the present welfare of the population of the Saar Basin. As things stand, whatever they say must be discounted as part of an electioneering campaign for 1935, if not for immediate revision of the Treaty. Meanwhile, the Commission, in spite of attacks from French imperialists and German nationalists, goes steadily on with its job.

Albert Thomas on International Coöperation

AS DIRECTOR of the International Labor Office, M. Albert Thomas has addressed various audiences in this country for the purpose of showing the purposes and methods of the organization that he represents. In *The Survey* (New York) for January 1, M. Thomas summarizes the same information. Fifty-four nations are now members of the organization. Four

representatives from each member state—two representing the government, one the employers, and one the workers—meet once a year in general conference. Such conferences were held in Washington in 1919, in Genoa in 1920, and in Geneva in 1921 and 1922. The International Labor Office arranges for these Conferences and collects and distributes authoritative in-



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REPRESENTATIVE LEADERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION WHO HAVE RECENTLY VISITED THE UNITED STATES

(Left to right: René Le Brun, France; Edward J. Phelan, England; Albert M. Thomas, France; Beddington Behrens, England; and Joseph Herbert, England)

formation on industrial and labor conditions and problems throughout the world. It has a staff of nearly 400 members, drawn from thirty different nationalities.

The International Labor Conference may vote by a two-thirds majority, either recommendations or conventions. These are thus defined by M. Thomas:

Recommendations lay down general principles of social progress which each state endeavors to apply as far as it is able by such legislative measures as it thinks fit. A convention is a more rigid instrument. Each nation is at liberty to ratify or not to ratify; but if it ratifies a convention, it agrees strictly to carry out the detailed clauses voted by the conference. Such a procedure may appear severe. It would, indeed, be an almost intolerable infringement of national sovereignty if each state were forced to ratify; but each state retains absolute liberty of action in this respect. Moreover, conventions are voted only for a limited period and are subject to revision. These conventions apply only to those states whose measures of social reform depend on action of the central government; in the case of federal states, it is provided that conventions shall be treated as recommendations.

It may be asked: Are these measures actually applied by the different governments? Is there not the risk, despite the text of these instruments, that progressive countries will still be hindered in their development by countries whose wages are low, whose hours are long, and whose women and children are exploited? The answer is: No, so long as public opinion is active and alert. No, if among all nations the spirit of humanity is allowed to prevail.

Referring to the fact that the United States is not a member of the organization, M. Thomas says:

Two nations of great importance are not members of the organization—one, which had a great industrial past which perhaps one day it will regain, namely, Russia; the other, whose pre-eminence has never been in doubt, the United States of America. It is not necessary to recall the reasons which have led the United States to remain outside the International Labor organization. The charter of the organization is Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, and the United States has decided not to ratify that treaty. Moreover, the International Labor Organization, although completely autonomous and possessing its own administration—its own governing body, chosen according to special rules different from those of the Council of the League of Nations, and completely independent of that council—and although it includes countries like Germany which are not members of the League of Nations, has been attached, in order to simplify its financial administration to the League of Nations.

If I were a private individual, and if I were completely free, I might be tempted—perhaps at the risk of being indiscreet—to indulge in a little propaganda. At the risk of abusing that generous public opinion in the United States which, though tired, is yet astonishingly tolerant, I might be tempted to imitate Clemenceau. But, even supposing that such a method might be successful, even

supposing that such attempts to conciliate opinions did not nearly always produce the opposite result, it is a liberty which I have no intention of taking. I am too much concerned with the positive task which I and my assistants have to accomplish, to wish to do anything except occupy myself wholly with that task. The politician may be obliged to make propaganda. The administrator has the simple duty to take account of facts.

When a great national catastrophe happens—war, or famine, or earthquake—distinctions of party disappear, and a unanimous parliament, supported by voluntary effort on all sides, takes measures to deal with the calamity. Differences between parties may perhaps spring up immediately after. There may be differences of opinion as to the best method whereby the safety of the country may be secured—but there is unanimity as regards the necessity of self-preservation. In certain international problems the situation is similar. The covenant which was negotiated at Versailles is no doubt open to discussion. It may be maintained that certain of its articles are dangerous to the future security of nations. It may be argued that these articles are in contradiction with the great American traditions. Those are points which I do not intend to discuss. They are questions of international politics. They are not questions which concern me.

It may be said that in the International Labor Organization there is, nevertheless, a political element; that there is the procedure of conventions between countries, conventions which possibly in a particular case might be obnoxious to certain countries. But if the United States were a member of the organization, such conventions could not be its concern since it is a federated state. But suppose for a moment that the mere existence of a procedure of this kind is sufficient to repel the United States. Is it any the less true that the International Labor Organization, as a "service station," as a center of study and research, as a center for the collection and distribution of information, could not be regarded with indifference? The defense of the workers against cruel exploitation, against injustice and against misery—does it not make an appeal to a general sentiment of humanity common to all nations? Over and above all questions of procedure, apart from national or international conventions, is there not possible a collaboration fruitful almost beyond measure?

While the International Labor Organization may be separated from the United States by political difficulties, M. Thomas declares that as a matter of fact by its enlightenment, by its progress and by the qualities of soul which have inspired it, "the United States is a member, at least by affinity." The organization has repeatedly sought Americans of special eminence in their particular fields to assist in its work, and on the other hand Americans have asked the International Labor Office to undertake an inquiry into the three-shift system in the steel industry, and the office applies to all the governments and the great industrial organizations concerned to supply the required information.

Germany's Better Nature Revealed by Frank Utterance

IT is often asserted, and too generally believed, that all political parties in Germany are in agreement to postpone indefinitely all payment of indemnity or material reparation, while quieting the Allies with empty promises or compromises. It is distinctly refreshing, therefore, to take in hand the *Sozialistische Monatshefte* (Berlin) for November 7 last, which abounds in frank and manly utterances on this subject. In the leading article, entitled "The Only Way," by Julius Kalinski, the first words are:

The road has no turning; there is but one way out. Unless Germany is to fall in self-destruction, Franco-German coöperation must be made a reality, as the people's will. The attempts of German statecraft to follow a different line have brought about a crash which all the world realizes. It is still possible to carry out the work of reconstruction indicated in the Lubersac-Stinnes treaty, which would assure the salvation of Germany.

The next paragraph states fairly, in another's words, the one essential condition:

Herr Hegt, member of the Reichstag and president of the German National Volkspartei, said at the Görlitz convention: "Without disturbing our relations with England and America, we must come to an understanding with the conciliatory industrial powers of France. . . . The French threats which are just now put forth must not mislead us. It is their nature to bluff with threats. One indispensable condition is the removal of foreign troops from German soil. Pledges France can justly demand, and we will offer them. But forests, domains, mines, are not pledges. Better are: (1) the capacity of free German industry. (2) The will of all Germans to do their part. (3) Guaranties of productiveness through our internal policy."

The chief article, however, is by August Bleier, under the title, "The Moral Duty of Making Good Again"—the expressive Germanic word *Wieder-gut-machung* being emphatically preferred to the foreign "reparation." The latter has been generally misunderstood by Germans as a war indemnity, which has never been demanded by the Allies. There is a fair hit at England, "which had fully and more than fully repaid herself by the seizure of colonies, fleet, etc., and so found it easy to be magnanimous at France's expense." Economic necessity, it is declared, is now forcing Germany and France to an understanding. "All must recognize the task as

a moral duty. We must fully realize what befell France and Belgium in the war."

Remarkable figures are offered as to the wanton destruction: 250,000 buildings destroyed; 33,000 miles of road; 4,000 factories, each with more than twenty employees; mines throughout whole provinces blown up, systematically flooded, and tools, corpses, dynamite, flung into them. All the offices, plans, accounts disposed of no less scientifically.

Even in September and October, 1918, during the great retreat, 226 mines in the Departments of the north and of Calais were thus elaborately destroyed which had been until then in operation, and they cannot be fully restored within ten years. For all this there was no longer any excuse of military necessity. It should have been perfectly clear, even then, that the German people alone would have to bear the cost of this work of destruction.

A recent letter is quoted from the *Free World*, written by a German workman who is disgusted with the charge that the French themselves sacked villages and cities which the Germans had spared. He describes the horribly overcrowded "concentration camps" for the aged, the diseased, and the children, set as close to the firing line as possible, while the able-bodied captives, of both sexes, were marched off into Belgium and Germany to serve as laborers. All metals and other valuables were taken out of the captured villages and towns, and then houses, orchards, even wayside shade-trees ruthlessly destroyed. "We old Landsturmiers (militia-men, home guards) felt the tears run down our cheeks as we were forced to march day after day through such scenes of desolation."

Herr Bleier sums up most convincingly:

The simple fact is, the German workman wants to help his French brother raise his house, plant new fruit-trees, dig out his shafts and pump out the water, and construct his new engines. He will even "go dry" (give up his beer) to save the money to do it. The lion in the way is the politician, who will not have it so.

It is only fair to remember, what the very name *Internationale* records, that the Socialists were the first, at least among political parties, to insist on the economic

necessity of peace, and the common interests of all the workers of the world. What opposition there was in 1914 to Wilhelm's suicidal action, whether before or after the outbreak of hostilities, came from them,

not, as might have been expected, from the professional and university men. But from any body of Germans such utterances are encouraging and demand hearty appreciation.

An Italian Study of the Monroe Doctrine

IN *Politica* (Rome) there is an excellent and impartial statement of the development and the present status of the Monroe Doctrine, by the Italian writer, Francesco Coppola. At the outset he notes how before Monroe, Jefferson had already declared that, just as the United States did not wish to interfere in European politics, so our country was not disposed to allow Europe to intermeddle with our politics. Of course, the immediate occasion for the Monroe pronouncement was the casting off of Spain's rule by the peoples of South and Central America, and the menace which soon arose of European interference by the Holy Alliance of Austria, Russia and Prussia. The writer traces within brief compass, but with considerable success, the different phases of the policy of the United States Government regarding the Monroe Doctrine, and the progressive definition of its essential qualities, its range and limitations, as brought out by political events. (The Doctrine is now a century old.)

From the beginning there has been little trace of any common understanding among the American peoples regarding the Doctrine. During the revolutionary period in South America, the policy of the United States toward the young republics which sprang up upon the ruins of Spanish domination, was exceedingly cautious, and when, in 1825, General Bolivar called together the first Pan-American Congress, in order to define the status of the Monroe Doctrine as regarded Latin-America, Secretary Adams gave clearly to understand that the United States could not undertake to cover the South American states with their moral guarantee.

The writer considers it essential to understand whether the European nations have renounced their right of intervention in American affairs and how far their renunciation extends. President Monroe had no intention to deny the authority of international law, but merely aimed to warn the European powers that the United States

Government was opposed to any resumption of European colonization in the American continent. Successively, all the United States administrations have successfully upheld this political postulate.

The most significant part of the article is that treating of the place accorded to the Monroe Doctrine in the Pact of the League of Nations, which although not ratified by our Senate, nevertheless defines the attitude of the signatories toward Monroism. This is clearly stated in the following words of the English text:

Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of national engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

The Italian writer believes we can properly and logically assert that the United States has a right to enforce arbitration, and that the signatories of the League of Nations Pact have consented to submit their controversies with the American nations to this arbitration. All that remains necessary is to determine the limits within which the signatories are obliged to accept it. The European nations recognize the right in principle, but where such a "regional understanding" does not exist, it is evident that the principle remains in a purely theoretic stage. The understanding is the condition on which the application of the Doctrine depends because its value arises from this and it is limited by it.

The opinions of two Central American states, Honduras and Salvador, and that of the Parliament of Brazil were expressed at the Peace Conference in Versailles. Honduras declared that, since 1823, the United States had maintained that all the American republics had a right to independent existence, and that no nation should acquire by conquest any part of their territory, interfere in their government or internal administration, or perform any other act derogatory to their authority or

their national dignity. However, this did not prevent the Latin-American nations from entering into such confederacies or alliances among themselves as might best favor the realization of their destiny. Salvador noted that the League of Nations Pact recognized and sanctioned the Doctrine, but that it ought to be given a more definite form. The representative of Brazil spoke in the same vein.

Finally, from the development of Monroeism, one thing appears evident, namely, that in its most definite form it has the character of a defense of the American continent against the modifications of territorial sovereignty which the non-American nations might wish to bring about. Freed from all its apparent universalistic apparatus, this seems to be the essential and distinguishing quality of Monroeism.

The Pasteur Centenary

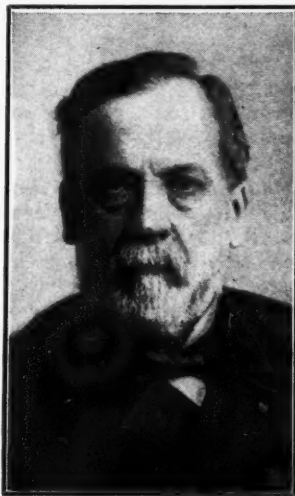
IN THE closing days of 1922 the centenary of the birth of Louis Pasteur was observed in France and throughout the civilized world. Mr. Maynard Shipley, writing in the *Open Court* (Chicago) for December, reminds us that a few weeks before Pasteur's birth Berthollet, the great French chemist, died, and a few weeks later the death of Edward Jenner, the English physician and discoverer of vaccination, was recorded. Those two pioneers of 18th century science were thus succeeded by the great pioneer of the dynamic 19th century.

Berthollet served as professor in the Normal School at Paris, where later Pasteur was to complete the education begun at the Royal College of Besançon. But a glance at the academic positions held by the later scientist makes one wonder when and how he found time for original work. Professor of the Lycee at Dijon; professor of chemistry at the University of Strassburg; dean of the science faculty, which he organized, at the University of Lille; director of scientific studies at the Paris Normal School; director of the chemico-physical laboratory of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes in Paris; permanent secretary of the Academy of Sciences: — small marvel that in 1889, when presumably he was financially able to do so, he resigned all of these duties and honors which still clung to him, to give his undivided attention to the child of his old age, the Pasteur Institute.

And there he who had been at first practically a physicist, had actually founded the science of stereochemistry, which, treating as it does of the relation of the atoms in molecules, borders so closely on physics, brought to its fruition his great work in bacteriology. Accounting for fermentation by the presence of a micro-organism in the fermenting body,

Pasteur's researches were of the greatest value to the brewers and wine-makers of France; and then gained national fame for him as they explained and cured the silkworm disease which was threatening one of the country's most important industries. But he could not stop here; Jenner's earlier discovery that each kind of fermentation was due to a specific ferment, and each disease (apparently) to a specific microbe, led Pasteur to further and further applications of the theory, based also on the researches of Robert Koch.

Fowl cholera; anthrax in sheep and cattle; and then at last, ten years before his death, the specific microbe a culture of which would act as an antitoxin for rabies in the lower animals and man. When the layman speaks of the "Pasteur cure" it is this treatment for rabies that he means; but of how much greater significance to the scientific world was the principle on which this particular cure was founded!



LOUIS PASTEUR (1822-1895)
(The French biological chemist and pathologist)

Sir William Osler, in "The Evolution of Modern Medicine," says of Pasteur: "At the middle of the last century we did not know much more of the actual causes of the great scourges of the race, the plagues, than did the Greeks. Here comes Pasteur's great work.

"Before him Egyptian darkness; with his advent, a light that brightens more and more, as the years give us ever fuller knowledge."

From the work of Pasteur, and of Jenner before him, has grown the whole of serum-therapy, one of the very greatest of all medical accomplishments. In the *New Republic* (New York) for January 17th the achievements of Pasteur in the industrial as well as the medical field, are summarized by Nicholas and Lillian Koroloff.

Do the Jews Rule American Finance?

THE prevalent belief that members of the Jewish race are becoming increasingly powerful in our financial institutions, if they do not actually dominate them, is subjected to a merciless analysis in the *World's Work* by Burton J. Hendrick. He shows by reference to well-known historical facts and by the citation of Jewish authorities that the race has always lacked the power of coöperation and the gift of political organization. Indeed, the Jew's intense individualism is his most conspicuous trait.

In New York City, where there are a million and a half Jews, the leaders of the race have repeatedly complained that their people cannot be induced to coöperate for Jewish ends. There are 700 or 800 synagogues in Greater New York, but each one is a separate group, having no relation with the others. It is a well-known fact that in certain election districts of New York City the Jews are far more numerous than the Irish, yet out of thirty-two district leaders in Tammany Hall only five or six are Jewish; the Irish are still in control. It has been found also that the Jews in New York have been comparatively unresponsive to the appeals of labor leaders of their own race.

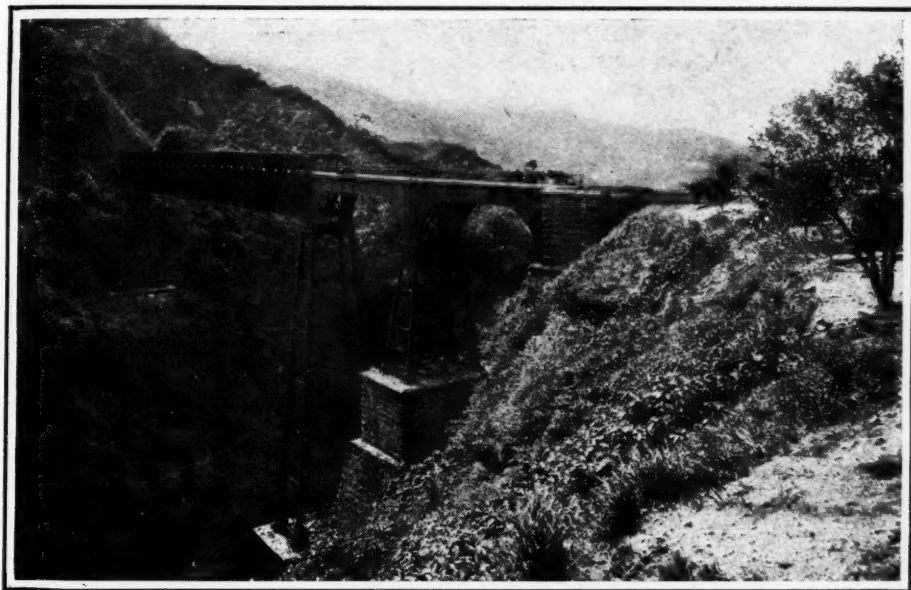
Even as to the supposed superiority of the Jewish mind, which is often freely conceded by Gentiles, Mr. Hendrick is decidedly skeptical. He admits that Jewish school children are more industrious, that they will work six hours at their studies where Gentile children work two or three, and that here they are therefore likely to carry off a disproportionate share of the prizes. But he maintains that those who come daily into contact with them have not found that they have better minds, that their mental processes are more rapid and more accurate or that they are capable of greater intellectual achievements. Jewish teachers in New York public schools, with whom Mr. Hendrick discussed the question, thought that the Jewish mind was better than that of the Southern Italian and that of other immigrating races, but denied that it was superior to that of the native "American" stock. His observations led him to conclude that the Jewish mind lacks two qualities—the creative faculty and the ability to organize or to coöperate. And these are just the qualities in which Ameri-

cans in their industrial and economic development have shown themselves pre-eminent.

Having arrived at this point in his investigation, Mr. Hendrick makes an even more daring advance in the face of cherished popular convictions respecting Jewish "dominance" in America. He ventures to deny that the Jew has made any astonishing economic progress in this country. Taking the list of our national banks, trust companies, savings banks, life insurance companies and other like institutions, Mr. Hendrick challenges us to find among the directors and officers of these institutions anything like a "predominant" number of the names of Jewish citizens. The names of an overwhelming majority of the bank presidents, officers and directors of New York City are English and Scotch. In the greatest banks of the city not only are the officers almost exclusively Christian, but a Jewish director on one of their boards is the greatest rarity. Mr. Hendrick names the most powerful banks and insurance companies in Greater New York, and gives the exact figures as to Jewish and Gentile representation on their directorates.

Mr. Hendrick's explanation of the comparatively slight Jewish influence in our big financial institutions is largely a deduction of his characterization of the Jew as an intense individualist. So long as banking was a business in which an individual or group of individuals could successfully engage, the Jew had a far better chance of reaching the top. The Rothschilds, for example, were a family group with loose organization. In this country the Belmonts and the Seligmans had relatively far greater importance in the 19th century than they have in the 20th. American banking and finance are rapidly losing their old individualistic character. What is wanted now for leadership is a gift for coöperation—teamwork.

Passing to the industrial field, it is found that the Jews in control of powerful corporations are comparatively few, while such concerns as the Standard Oil Company, with its many branches, United States Steel Corporation, and American railroads—except in some cases as bankers—are controlled not by Jews, but almost exclusively by "Americans."



PARANA RAILROAD BRIDGE, ON THE ROUTE TO CURYTIBA, BRAZIL

South American Railroads

WHEN we consider the fact that American engineers have from the first been so closely identified with the building of railroads in South America, it seems strange that in the United States of North America so little is known concerning the railroad development of the southern continent. An interesting survey of the important transportation systems in each of the South American countries is presented by G. H. Burnham, of Clark University, at Worcester, Mass., in the *Bulletin* of the Pan American Union for December.

Beginning with Argentina, Mr. Burnham shows that in a span of sixty-five years the railroad construction has approximated 22,500 miles. This great system is to be attributed in no small degree to the foresight and courage of such representative Americans as William Wheelwright, John Clark and his brother Matthew, who had to overcome tremendous obstacles before they could induce foreign capitalists to become interested in their enterprises.

Buenos Aires, the metropolis and leading port of Argentina, is naturally the principal focus of the national railway system. Many lines, however, converge at Rosario

and at Bahia Blanca. Not only do these roads handle a vast freight tonnage in live stock and agricultural products, but the passenger traffic, especially on the Great Southern Railway, is heavy. From 25,000,000 to 30,000,000 persons are carried annually on this railroad.

With few exceptions, the railroads of Brazil are centered in the Eastern part of the country, radiating from important coast points. The Central of Brazil forms a network of lines extending from Rio de Janeiro to Sao Paulo, Bello Horizonte and other points. It is now planned to extend the line northward from Rio through the heart of the republic to Para. For more than half a century this railroad system has been operated by the general government. The Brazilian railroads, like those in other South American countries, have to traverse difficult mountain regions.

The railroad history of Chile is especially interesting. In the year 1849 William Wheelwright, a citizen of the United States, finished the construction of a line from the port of Caldera to the coal mines at Copiapo. This is the oldest existing railroad in Latin America, with the single exception of

the Demerara railway in British Guiana, it is the oldest in South America. In later years Wheelwright, with the help of another American, Allen Campbell, surveyed a through line between Valparaiso and Santiago. This was completed in 1863 by Henry Meiggs, of Catskill, N. Y.

The Chilean railroad system expanded gradually, until to-day there is one trunk line extending from Iquique to Puerto Montt, and forming an artery through the central part of the republic. From this line railroads radiate westward to almost every port and eastward to important mining or agricultural centers. The central system is government-owned.

In Peru the greater part of the railroad

mileage is controlled by the Peruvian Corporation, which has been in existence since 1890. The Peruvian Central, one of the railroads which this company took over from the Government, bears the distinction of being the highest railroad line in the world. It extends from Callao and Lima via Oroya to Huancayo. Construction was begun in 1870 by the American engineer, Henry Meiggs. After leaving Callao, the line passes Lima and at once begins its upward climb. Within the comparatively short distance of 106 miles, it reaches an altitude of 15,665 feet. The heavy grades along this line were overcome largely by means of V switches.

A Historic Bird Event

IN the *Atlantic Monthly* for December is published an article, "The Gullible Gulls," which is of more than passing scientific interest, because it includes definite mention of a historic incident not generally known about, especially in the eastern, or even central States, but which is commemorated by a tall monument in the State affected—Utah. The article was contributed by William L. Finley, the widely known western ornithologist, and his wife, Irene Finley, who often collaborates with her husband in his ornithological writing and field work.

The matter to which the following excerpt refers explicitly, deals with a remarkable episode in the early history of Utah—the almost miraculous appearance, several hundred miles from their western home, of a flock of sea gulls, who literally delivered the fields from a plague of "crickets" (probably grasshoppers) and saved the Mormon farmers' crops from threatened obliteration. Concerning this extraordinary event, Mr. Finley writes as follows:

From an economic standpoint, the gull might have been adopted as our national emblem, instead of the wide-winged and fierce looking eagle. There is nothing that will kill a person or a bird in the public eye like ridicule. If it had not been for the old town wag who started the idea that this bird was simple-minded and easily taken in, who knows but he might be our national bird representative on sea and land? Perhaps he was robbed of his birthright. I do not mention these things because I expect the American eagle to be replaced. I have great respect for him. If I did advocate this, some-

one would say that the gull has not a fierce countenance like the eagle; yet he is just like an eagle in one way: he will fight when cornered. He knows a great deal more than an eagle about the business of hunting his living. He lives a simple, easy life, working his wits instead of going entirely on his physical make-up—which might look as if he really represented the American people better than the eagle.

There is another important fact that must not be overlooked. In Alaska, where the American eagles have been the most abundant, the salmon canners, after years of unrestricted fishing, saw their business decreasing. So the blame was put on the eagle, because, occasionally, one of these big birds was seen with a dead salmon. The Alaskan lawmakers put a bounty of fifty cents on each eagle. Ten or twelve thousand of these great birds have been killed, and the slaughter is still on. At this rate, the renowned American bird of freedom will be extinct in a few years. Who wants to be represented by a defunct species? The more I think of it, the more I am led to believe that the gull may yet come into his own as the emblem of America. Of course, he will have to live down the slander and ignominy thrust upon him by gossip-mongers.

In fear that the Alaskan lawmakers may introduce a bill to replace the American eagle with the gull, I might suggest that they first pass a resolution to investigate who destroyed the salmon crop in Alaska. This may clear the American eagle, and save him before he reaches the point of final disappearance.

On the other hand, if our people in idle indifference see the last American eagle brought to earth, they will raise little objection to the lowly gull perched above the Stars and Stripes. He is already a bird sacred in the history of Utah. On October 1, 1913, a tall marble shaft was dedicated to this bird which saved the early Mormon settlers from famine. On the top of the granite column, more than fifteen feet high, is a great ball, upon which two gulls of gilded bronze are just alighting. On the sides of the square-base pedestal are four historical bronze

plaques in high relief. The north tablet contains the dedication: "Seagull Monument, erected in grateful remembrance of the mercy of God to the Mormon pioneers." The east tablet shows the arrival of the pioneers; the south indicates despair, hope and the arrival of the gulls; and the west, the harvest.

The incident so strikingly commemorated happened in the summer of 1848, during a great plague of "crickets" (locusts or grasshoppers), when the gulls came in great flocks to the settlers' fields and successfully checked the insects that were destroying

the crops. The birds not only ate what they needed for food, but gorged themselves again and again, as if possessed of the idea of ridding the fields of their scourge.

The quiet sarcasm of Mr. Finley's remarks apropos of the eagle, will not escape the reader. The species of gull referred to seems to have been the California Gull, still common along the Pacific coast.

Anti-Semitism of the Ancients Analyzed by a Dutch Scholar

THE history of religions as an impartial pursuit is a modern invention which seems, as George Moore says, to have more to do with a love for good music than with ecclesiastical conviction. Holland had been the haven of learned and worthy Jews even before Cromwell granted them the civil liberties of England, and anti-Semitism is there a bugaboo as extinct as Alba and the Inquisition. So Dr. Dijkema discusses in *De Gids* of September 1 the reason for the hatred of the Jews by the Gentile nations of antiquity in an inquiring and unbiased spirit that is a guaranty both of his learning and his good faith.

M. Dijkema recalls that the Jews had complete freedom of worship and civil rights under the Ptolemaic and the Seleucidian rule and in Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus and Sardis their civil rights were the same as those of Roman citizens.

But the Greek world-kingdom established by Alexander the Great over the ideas and mind of the East could not suffer the Jewish refusal to recognize their gods as well as Jehovah, so that in Alexandria, Antioch, Caesarea, Tyros and in different cities of Asia Minor there were frequent quarrels between the city authorities and the Jews, especially when the latter were inscribed as Roman citizens. The Asiatic pagans accused the Hebrews of disrespect for the gods and hatred of man. Apion, who instigated a sanguinary riot against the Jews in Alexandria, declares that "the Jews swear by their God, the creator of heaven and earth, that they will do no good deed to Gentiles and especially not to Greeks."

Apollonius Molon called the Jews "ungodly and unsocial" and the accusations were from the pagan standpoint as true as the Greek reproach that they lacked cul-

ture. "Thou shalt make unto thyself no graven image of any creature, either of the earth beneath or of the waters under the earth" was a law that did not encourage in its literal followers creative works of the imagination. With the Jews instruction had one aim—the religious and moral development.

Another reason undoubtedly lay in the fact that the period before the Christian era was a time of religious doubt and change and the Jewish religion was no negligible factor. Pliny the Elder characterized his day as one in which the search for God was the supreme quest. The Hebraic law had the monotheistic idea, salvation from sin and supernatural intervention, to offer with the certainty of a future life of happiness. Josephus declares that there were a great number of proselytes to Judaism in spite of the agitation against them.

M. Dijkema points out that Tacitus even in the midst of his accusations recognized the spiritual nobility of the Hebraic religion. "They believe," he said, "that the souls of those who die in battle or suffering for their sins are eternal. . . . Their God is the Omnipotent and Eternal, the Immutable and Immortal, the One God."

M. Dijkema concludes that the anti-Semitism of the ancients can be traced on the side of the Jews to the exclusiveness of their worship and their haughty and defiant attitude towards the pagans, and on the side of the uneducated heathen to incapacity to understand the Jewish abstract ideas in religion and to hate of the alien and superior stranger, and on the part of the upper classes to dislike of a people who held themselves above the native creeds, yet whose spiritual superiority they were obliged to acknowledge.

"Turkish Democracy"

THE article under this title, signed by no less a personage than "Mufty-Made K. de Zia Bey" and printed in the London *Outlook* for December 2, is reproduced entire by the *Living Age* (Boston) of January 6. It is quite too clever, plausible and audacious—and in part too just and true—to be resented.

The Turkish people, it seems, were not "in favor of entering the World War on the side of Germany." Only the suppression of their parliament by an usurping dictatorship dragged them into it. There follows a just and true statement: That when the victorious Allies declared their intention to dismember even Asia Minor, the nation which had borne the loss of its European power, of Mesopotamia, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, was "spurred to patriotic exaltation"; to fight for its very existence. "But the Sultan and the shadow of a government were under the very guns of the enemies in Constantinople." So on Mustapha Kemal's initiative was worked out the plan of the new constitution, by which all real power is exerted by the permanent Constituent Assembly at Angora (not even directly, but through a small executive committee); and this Assembly, we are asked to believe, represents in some occult way the actual voice of the Turkish people, which even Kemal Pasha must, at every turn of action, wait for and obey. All this rests, of course, on the ultimate fiction that there is an intelligent, interested alert body of citizens generally, to dominate the parliament, in any such fashion as a free press and an aroused people may, on occasion, reach the ear of an American Congress.

"This is undoubtedly the most thorough form of government by the people yet devised in the Old World." (Other passages make it more than doubtful if the phrase is intended to except the United States or any portion of this "weary old world.")

A curious concession is stated in terms already antiquated by swift-moving events:

The Sultan is a tradition in Turkey, and a Sultan with no real power is not a danger but a luxury. The general situation made this luxury a necessity. The Sultan of Turkey is recognized as a Caliph, or spiritual chief, of all Moslem countries, and through this fact Turkey can at any time exert a telling influence over the whole Moslem world.

But the new Sultan is not to be Caliph, and will hardly exert a "telling influence" on the eldest of all Moslem folk, the Arabs, at least.

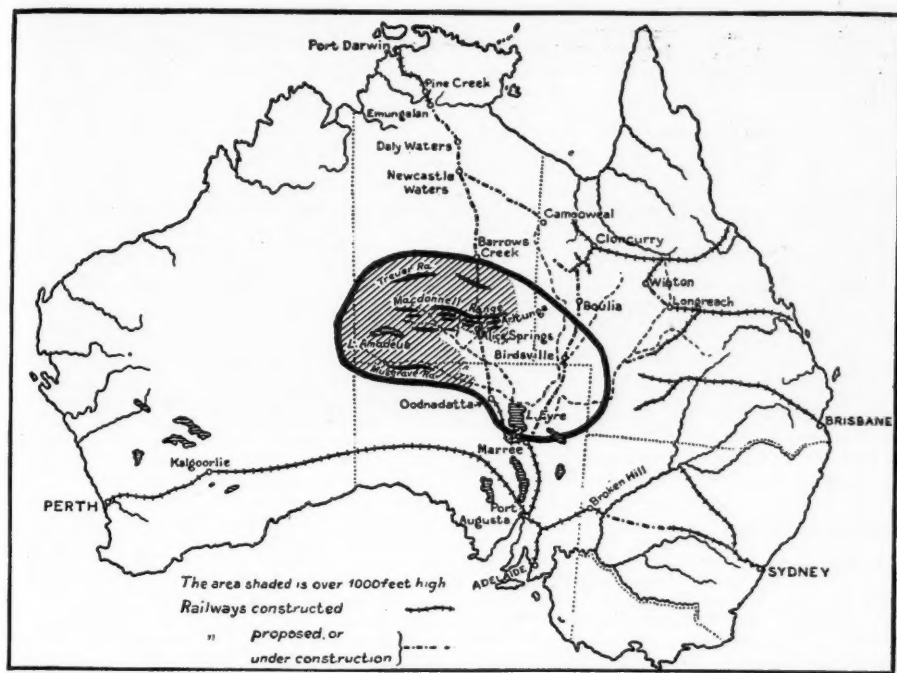
This constitution, we are assured, creates "a totally new conception of government, in which the people are placed and maintained on the very top." Doubtless, being human, it has shortcomings, but "the future will gradually smooth these out," while never "impairing or endangering the sovereignty of the people." This amazing boast is enforced by a clever glance at recent occasions when the delegates of Western powers, at conferences, have made no pretense of consulting anyone save their respective prime ministers, before committing their peoples to vital decisions. The dangerous autocracy of the "Big Five," "Four," or "Three" has aroused criticism before; but this time, surely, it comes from an unlooked-for quarter of the sky!

The writer himself is evidently quite too clever and too well informed to imagine for an instant that there is any "Turkish people" watching and controlling in any fashion the Angora Assembly, its select executive committee, or the military chieftain who just now holds uncontrolled power. But there really is, in practically all Turks, a soldierly or at least a fighting instinct, a racial pride, a fanaticism all too easily aroused, that can always be counted upon by friend and foe. In war, they are merciless, but inferior to other Balkan races in ingenuity of cruelty.

The paragraph of most direct interest in this country must be quoted entire:

The efficiency of this new form of government in its civilian administration has just received an impartial recognition by the committee of investigation sent by Admiral Mark L. Bristol, United States High Commissioner at Constantinople, into the territories recently liberated from our enemies. As reported by the American press, the members of the commission have declared that, only a few weeks after the redemption of our provinces, the new Turkish administration had established order, and brought quiet and prosperity out of chaos and anarchy.

There is undoubtedly "quiet," if not "prosperity," also, in the former abodes of the late Armenian race, which the Turks could well describe as no less "liberated recently from our enemies!" Smyrna is notably quiet.



CENTRAL AUSTRALIA (MARKED WITH THE HEAVY LINE)

Economic Possibilities of Central Australia

"THE British settler," writes Mr. T. O. H. T. Rishbeth in *Discovery* (London), "has much to unlearn in Australia." In common with most of humanity, he conceives of the Australian interior as an immense tract of useless and irreclaimable desert. "The dead heart of Australia" is a phrase that Dr. J. W. Gregory adopted some years ago as the title of a well-known book, describing his explorations of the Lake Eyre region, and this phrase doubtless expresses prevalent ideas concerning Central Australia in general. It may be noted, however, that this same book helped to make known to the world at large the extraordinary exemption of white settlers in the region described from the traditional ill effects of a hot climate.

Mr. Rishbeth defines Central Australia as an area of over 300,000 square miles, shaped something like a bean, with its convex curve northwards. It stretches from the Western Australian border at about latitude 25° S., east by a little south to include the southwest corner of Queensland

and the northeast corner of South Australia. The east half is a vast, low-lying plain, varied with hills and ridges, while the west half is a plateau, cut across by mountain ranges of moderate elevation. The Macdonnell and Musgrave Ranges rise to about 5000 feet. There are broad, sandy river-courses and wide lowland flats subject to sudden devastating floods. Nearly the whole region lies within the 10-inch rainfall line, and is therefore classified as a "desert."

Worst of all, the rainfall is extremely erratic. This fact accounts for the extraordinary divergence of accounts of the country given by travelers. One man sees a pastoralist's paradise, with waving prairies, abundant pools, green scrub, and plentiful life; the next a withered wilderness filled with dust and whispers of death. It accounts for the successive waves of settlement—the brave and hopeful push out into the "Far North," the weary and bitter return. It accounts for the "gamble with Nature"—the overstocking in good seasons and "taking the risk." And it accounts now for the somewhat selfish "ca' canny" understocking and the holding of too much land unimproved. There can be no security in Central Australia until the water-supply is secure.

The ancient rocks which form the ridges of Central Australia are frequently metalliferous: wide areas have been proved to contain good medium-grade ore: e.g., in the vicinity of Arltunga, gold and mica; at Hatches Creek, wolfram. But capital and then machinery, timber, water, and white labor are required to develop these deposits, and capital will not come until the enormous transport costs are reduced. Besides minerals, these ancient rocks generally provide belts of fertile soil, with a good water-supply around their bases, and between the parallel ridges of the Macdonnells are numerous rich, if still dry and "unimproved," valleys.

The destiny of Central Australia, says the writer, is to be, first of all, an important pastoral region and secondly a producer of minerals. These developments depend upon the improvement of the water supply. Nearly all the natural surface waters in this region are more or less evanescent; not so the subterranean supplies. Many shallow wells are almost inexhaustible, while artesian wells are the great hope of the pastoral industry.

A beginning has been made, but much remains to be done to develop fully these underground supplies. Systematic well location and construction are necessary. The flow of artesian waters must be regulated and distributed to good advantage. Cattle can range ten miles and sheep about five miles from their water supply, and after rains, when herbage is juicy, cattle may range even to fifteen miles. Wells then act as centers, and sometimes may save fencing—an important consideration in a country liable to bush-fires. Rabbits and dingoes must be systematically and uniformly attacked; stock routes with permanent wells opened up. The land must be scientifically parcelled and put out on permanent lease, and improvement of leased lands and adequate stocking must be stipu-

lated in return for Government aid in well-sinking, etc. The carrying capacity and suitability of various lands for various animals—horses, cattle, sheep, goats, Angora goats—must be tested. All this will stabilize the pastoral industry.

But all this depends on better railway communications. At present the pastoral, like the mining industry, suffers under crippling disabilities, especially in marketing its products. Also droughts, though recurrent, are not universal, at one and the same time. One of the great means of fighting droughts will be strategic pastoral railways, whereby stock can be shifted rapidly from area to area. Central Australia, properly linked, will play a large part in this strategic scheme. Australia is taking its north to south trans-continental railway seriously, and two main schemes hold the field. They are based on the two natural divisions of Central Australia indicated above. The one plan is to complete the Oodnadatta to Pine Creek railway roughly along the Overland Telegraph Line (western route); the other would take the line eastwards from Marree (Hergott Springs), up through Western Queensland and then curve westwards towards Darwin. This would undoubtedly open up much better and more pastoral country, and would probably be cheaper. Under this scheme the Oodnadatta line would also be continued to Alice Springs, thus tapping west Central Australia by a branch route. This much seems certain: the fine pastoral areas of the northeastern portion of South Australia and Western Queensland will have to be opened up and linked somehow with the north-to-south railway system, because the economic drainage of the whole of Central Australia is eventually bound to follow the main lines of geographical configuration. That is to say, two systems, one from the northeast and one from the northwest, will unite somewhere south of Lake Eyre and, forming a "Y," will flow south to Port Augusta, which is capable of becoming a first-class deep-water harbor. Eventually, also, the northern fringe of Central Australia may drain economically northwards towards Asiatic markets.

Weather Made to Order

IN California, which has been a happy hunting ground for the charlatans who undertake to break droughts for the benefit of gullible agriculturists, a new kind of weather-making is now in vogue. It is applied to smaller areas but is vastly more certain in its results than the hocus-pocus of burning chemicals and cloud bombardments that has acquired so much newspaper notoriety. Moreover, its range of operation is not limited to rain-making. Nearly every brand of weather known to the meteorologist can be produced by the latter-day sorcerer, the fruits of whose undertakings are exhibited on motion-picture screens all over the world.

How "weather effects" are achieved in the California movie studios is told by

Wynonah Johnson in the *Photodramatist* (Los Angeles). The normal climate of movieland is characterized by an abundance of sunshine, nearly rainless summers, and mild winters devoid of snow. In diversifying this program for his own purposes, the motion-picture producer has outgrown the crude expedients that once prevailed. For example, paper snowflakes are a thing of the past. The dull-finish asbestos flakes used for Christmas decorations simulate falling snow; composition icicles are employed on eaves and branches, while snow lying on the ground, roofs, etc., is represented with startling fidelity by tons of coarse salt. In the filming of a snow-storm,

the wind machine is brought into use, and this creates the draft which, blowing the whirling flakes,



RAIN IN THE MOVIES

makes the illusion complete. It is this wind-machine which is the weather-man's right hand in obtaining weather effects. It is usually an auto chassis, very light, with a six- or eight-cylinder airplane motor fitted with propellers; this is the developed compact wind-machine, and with its speed engine controlled for producing every variation of wind from a gentle zephyr to a hurricane, it is called into use during snow-storms, wind-storms, rains, land-storms and so on.

If rain is indicated on the weather chart, then pipes or hose are brought into use. Such lengths of pipes, pierced with holes every few feet or inches, as desired, as are used in California lawn sprinkling are raised above camera-height; on the roofs of buildings, or over the streets. Wind-machines placed at either side—and sometimes five or more of them are needed in a violent storm—will blow the sheets of descending water into realistic whirls, and if lightning is described in the photoplay, it too has its machine. In the old days, art directors relied on the clever scratching of the film to give the instantaneous zigzag effect; various experiments have resulted in improvements in this effect. A static machine such as one sees in physics laboratories is pressed into service at some studios. An induction coil, such as is used in X-ray work, capable of throwing a 6-inch spark, has been successfully used by the weather-man, set up and covered by black velvet cloth so that only the two balls between which the spark jumps are exposed to view.

During a rain and wind-storm, there is no chance of restricting it to the few feet surrounding the heroine or hero. The camera-man is very close to the flood, and as the wind-machines spray the rain drops in every direction, he is often more comfortable, clad in boots and rain-coat than otherwise.

The late "rage" for desert pictures has resulted in a wave of such films, and of course the rescue of the heroine from devastating sand-storm, or its convenience in obliterating tell-tale tracks has given the weather-man some busy days. The selection of a sandy strip of desert—there is an excellent one by Oxnard, as well as other beach localities—when the company does not go in search of a real desert

—is the first consideration, then the placing of the wind-machines, which whirl the dusty cloud over the scene, and certainly produce a gritty and uncomfortably realistic effect.

The focusing-screw of the camera provides means of simulating fog and the blurred effects of moonlight. A pearly globe with a light inside does duty as the orb of night.

Sometimes the elements—in script—prophesy an earthquake, and it must come to pass. It does—without fail, after much planning and hard work on the part of the weather-man. For a big earthquake effect, tons of gun-powder are used to mine an area, maybe as large as 800 feet square, as in a picture recently, and to a depth of four feet. Expert quarrymen were engaged in the making of the "coyote holes" and placing of the wires, as well as the filling of the holes, and tiny steel huts, fully enclosed, protected the camera-men, who had two peep-holes—one for observation, and one for the camera lens. Buttons attached to galvanic batteries performed the task of exploding the hills, and volumes of rocks poured forth, giving a marvelously inspiring effect. Sometimes the cameras are worked at a distance by electric motors, for such effects.

Elaborate arrangements are needed for the representation of what Miss Johnson calls a "cyclone," when she obviously means a tornado.

In the making of "The Old Homestead," with Paramount picture stars recently at Lasky's, the wind-machines—five in number—were set up, and ropes and pulls and tackle attached to such buildings as needed to be overturned or shifted askew in the picture. The motors furnished the violent wind, the houses shook, or were bodily lifted and careened away, water fell in torrents, smaller objects whirled by, and what with dust and storm and leaves and debris, the set certainly looked as though a cyclone had passed that way, and the picture, recently released, gives the thrill to the stolidest of spectators.

The Fragmentary Map of the United States

THE Temple bill, now before Congress, aims to correct the scandalous anomaly of a vast civilized country minus a detailed and up-to-date map of itself. For many years the United States Geological Survey has been publishing the sheets of the Topographic Atlas of the United States. These charts are admirably made; they cover their respective areas in minute detail; and they are sold at the modest price of 10 cents a copy. They are not so well known to the public as they deserve to be, though the Survey has placed them on sale at country postoffices and in other ways has endeavored to bring them to people's attention. But, alas! many of these sheets were published decades ago and are far behind the times with respect to geographic features due to human activities. And—most lamentable of all—less than 45 per cent. of the country has had any topographic mapping at all!

The Temple bill, which has the vigorous backing of the national engineering societies, besides a host of chambers of commerce and other organizations, contemplates the complete mapping of the country within the next twenty years, and appropriates the sum of \$950,000 for the first year of the work. The allocation of this sum is left to the President, but it is understood that the bulk of it would serve to speed up and expand the present cartographical undertakings of the Geological Survey, while a part would be used by the Coast and Geodetic Survey in the fundamental trigonometrical work upon which the detailed work of the topographers depends.

The agitation of this great project makes timely an article by Prof. W. M. Davis, in the *Scientific Monthly* (Utica, N. Y.), dealing with some characteristics of the Topographic Atlas sheets hitherto published, and especially with the importance of the matter of elevation, as shown by contours. The writer says:

Americans as a rule are still topographically uneducated. They are accustomed to "flat" maps, on which the form of the land surface, the "relief" as it is technically called, is either not represented at all, or else so badly represented that it might better remain unrepresented. Automobileists are coming to know something of the ascents and descents on the roads that they follow; but most of them are still so inexperienced in or distracted from the observation of the landscape that they do not look at it closely or attentively; and even if they do, they

hardly see what they look at. The driver of a car of course should not be expected to turn his attention to the right or left; but his fellow travelers may do so, and they would be greatly aided in seeing the country they traverse by carrying along the topographic maps of their route. The cost of the maps is very low; an inquiry addressed to the director of the U. S. Geological Survey at Washington will bring information.

If distance lends enchantment to some views, appreciation lends enjoyment to many others, and appreciation of landscape views is greatly increased by the possession of a good map. As examples of the contrasts between different parts of the country, look at the map of the Brasua Lake quadrangle, next west of Moosehead Lake in Maine, where the brooks, many of them called "streams," have a well-defined flow only in their steep descents from the uplands, while in the lower lands they are for the most part either delayed in swamps or stopped in lakes; or of the Williamsport quadrangle, Pennsylvania, where the drainage is so well developed that neither lake nor swamp is to be found, and where the single or double ridges, running in the zigzag pattern of the Alleghenies, prevail with occasional enclosed limestone valleys, of which Nippenose is a perfect type; or of the Rives Junction quadrangle, Michigan, where the surface is agitated in the minute inequalities of morainic topography with many kettles and ponds; or of the Craig quadrangle, Missouri-Nebraska, where the boundary between the state of Missouri and Nebraska follows, a former course of the Missouri River, which has now changed its channel to the right or left, thus inconveniently leaving patches of each state on the wrong side of the river. The variety of topography is infinite; the lover of mountain and valley, of forest and stream will find no end of enjoyment in striving to apprehend its many expressions.

The sheets published for Hawaii, with its great mountains and volcanoes, are particularly interesting examples of topographic mapping.

One of the several ways in which the newer maps are improved over the earlier ones is in the addition of submarine contours, with the same vertical intervals as those on the land, for quadrangles on the ocean and lake coasts. Thus the Cape San Martin quadrangle, California, shows the bold slopes of the Santa Lucia range, which descends to the Pacific with crowded 50-foot contour lines, to be adjoined by a gently inclined sea-floor plain with wide-spaced 50-foot contour lines across a breadth of from two to four miles off shore, before a moderate slope to deeper water begins. In strong contrast therewith, the Portsmouth quadrangle shows the sea bottom off the coast of New Hampshire and Maine to be almost as undulating as the land, although, perhaps because soundings are scattered, the texture of the submarine undulations is drawn in a coarser pattern than that of the terrestrial surface. The manifest reason for the contrast between these samples of Pacific and Atlantic borders is that the shallow sea bottom along the California coast has been uninterruptedly subjected to normal marine agencies—waves and currents—by which land-



REDUCED REPRINT OF A PART OF ONE OF THE NEW JERSEY QUADRANGLES AS PUBLISHED BY THE U. S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

(This is a reduction of nearly one-half from the Government map on the usual scale of one mile to an inch. All the lettering on the map therefore appears nearly double the size of the lettering as printed above. The contour lines—intervals of twenty feet—are printed in brown, and the water and marsh land in blue. For this map the triangulation was by the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey and the topography by the Geological Survey of New Jersey)

derived detritus is smoothly distributed; while the sea bottom near the New England coast has been recently subjected to glaciation.

Another novelty on the recent maps is the addition of the numbers and subdivisions of the rectangles, over 900 in all, into which the whole country has been divided by the War Department. These rectangles measure one degree of latitude on the sides and one degree of longitude at the top and bottom; they are numbered from north to south in successive columns, beginning on the Pacific Coast. Each rectangle is divided into north and south halves; and each half into four quarters (I, northwest; II, northeast; III, southwest; IV, southeast). Thus the Conejos, Colo., quadrangle

of the Geological Survey nomenclature, on a scale of 1:96,000, is the 298-S-II & IV quadrangle of the War Department. When the scale is large, the numerical nomenclature is somewhat unhandy; thus the Firebaugh, Calif., quadrangle of the Survey on a scale of 1:31,680, is the 60-N-II-W/2-SW/4 quadrangle of the War Department.

Outline maps of the states have been called for and prepared in recent years on a scale of 1:500,000. All are now completed, except that Nevada, Utah, Colorado and New Mexico are in press, and Texas is yet to be drawn.

The state maps at present are published without contours.

News from Nature's World

Red in the Gray

A BRILLIANT bird, very likely to appear at about this time in the city parks and the country landscape, is the cardinal grosbeak, a veritable Beau Brummel (as he has been called), in appearance and manners, his gaudy raiment fairly flashing on the white snow, or among the gray branches. He is often seen in Central Park, New York City, adding his dash of color to the gaily dressed throng; but is seen most frequently (near the metropolis), among the pines and spruces in the Vanderbilt Reservation, near New Dorp, on Staten Island. He is a fellow of elegant manners, as well as aristocratic appearance; and there is no mistaking his brilliant, whistled call, in short, descending syllables, sharply accentuated. As a whistler, he has a rival in the brown thrasher (who appears later), but as far as it goes, there is no more brilliant bird performance to be heard among the spring birds. "Red bird," he is generally called in the South, where he is more common, and is often kept in a cage—more's the pity!

The "Tiger of the Air"

The latter part of February, or the first weeks of March, are likely to witness the arrival, in the deep woods (or around farm houses), of that fierce "tiger of the air," the great horned owl, who is apt to set up housekeeping at once in a deserted nest of a crow or hawk, where the female may often be found brooding her eggs while she herself is covered by an inch or more of snow.

Woe to the small bird or mammal who chances to stray into that vicinity. And curiously enough, a creature which often does make this mistake is the common skunk, which most of the woods folk let severely alone. But that the "tiger" often dines on skunk, is usually plainly evident from the odor about his nest, and the fragments often found therein. An owl almost invariably smells of skunk, and there is a belief among woodsmen that he does not particularly object to the characteristic odor. John Burroughs was once quoted (by the New York *Evening Post*), as saying:

The owl is the great bugaboo of the feathered tribe. His appearance by day is hailed by shouts of alarm and derision from nearly every bird that

flies, from crows down to sparrows. They swarm about him like flies, and literally mob him back into his retreat. Silence is as the breath of his nostrils to him, and the uproar that greets him when he emerges into the open day seems to alarm and confuse him, as it does the pickpocket when everybody cries thief.

The present writer once took a mounted great horned owl into the woods with him, to observe how the birds would act toward the stuffed specimen. Several species followed along under the trees, scolding steadily; but they kept at a respectful distance, even when the effigy was placed in a tree, and his escort had retired to a distance. Undoubtedly the birds recognized the owl, but the fact that he was carried on a perch over a man's shoulder did not seem to overcome their prejudices, and they sat about in the trees and continued to anathematize their mortal enemy.

The Early Bird Arrivals

By the end of February, or the first weeks of March, the early spring birds will be putting in their appearance in the northern and central States, and it is well now to make some notice of these arrivals. A list of the species (including a few who tarried in the northern States during the winter months), would comprise the following—arranged on the basis of their prevailing colors:

BROWN OR BROWNISH:

Flicker, meadowlark, robin, shore lark, fox sparrow, cedar bird, hermit thrush, white-throated sparrow, song sparrow, tree sparrow, Ipswich sparrow, brown creeper, myrtle warbler, goldfinch, Carolina wren, winter wren, chickadee.

GRAY OR GRAYISH:

Northern shrike, pine grosbeak, phoebe, Canada jay, junco, purple finch, American crossbill, white-winged crossbill, golden-crowned kinglet, tufted titmouse.

YELLOW:

Shore lark.

BLACK-AND-WHITE:

Hairy woodpecker, downy woodpecker, American three-toed woodpecker, white-bellied nuthatch.

BLACK:

Crow, purple grackle, rusty blackbird, cowbird, northern pileated woodpecker, Arctic three-toed woodpecker.

RED, SCARLET OR ROSE:

(Pine grosbeak), cardinal, (purple finch), redpoll linnet, red-bellied nuthatch.

BLUE:

Blue jay, bluebird, (white-bellied nuthatch).

How Does He Do It?

One of the common bird winter residents, the little black-and-white, polka-dot woodpecker, has a trick which mystified so keen an observer as John Burroughs, and has puzzled many another bird student. Said Mr. Burroughs (in "Far and Near," p. 188):

I watch these woodpeckers daily to see if I can solve the mystery as to how they hop up and down the trunks and branches without falling away from them when they let go their hold. They come down a limb or trunk backward by a series of little hops, moving both feet together. If the limb is at an angle to the tree and they are on the under side of it, they do not fall away from it to get a new hold an inch or a half inch further down. They hold to it as steel to a magnet. Both tail and head are involved in the feat. At the instant of making the hop the head is thrown in and the tail out, but the exact mechanics of it I can not penetrate. Philosophers do not yet know how a backward-falling cat turns in the air, but turn she does. It may be that the woodpecker never quite relaxes his hold, though to my eye he appears to do so.

The instant downy relaxes his hold on the under side of a limb, he should fall to the ground, or arrest his fall by considerable fluttering. Yet, obviously, he does not flutter.

A Cousin of the Beaver

One of the best of the modern nature-writers, Dr. S. C. Schmucker, in his charming little book, "Under the Open Sky," says: "Take a muskrat, flatten his tail up and down instead of sidewise, and magnify him, and you have a beaver," which is true, as everyone knows who has watched the ways of the two creatures. This applies to his works as well as to his ways, for, like the beaver, a muskrat prefers to build a house, wherein he lives during much of the colder winter weather. Just now he is beginning to move about, and inspect his premises; for this he will do with his eye on the calendar, without much regard for the thermometer.

Of course, his house (such as it is), wasn't built high enough last autumn to escape the spring freshets, though one may learn, even to-day, that he is an infallible weather-prophet (more newspaper natural history);

for his mound is often washed away and he himself drowned out of house and home by abnormally high water in the spring, legend to the contrary notwithstanding. Nevertheless, he seems an uncommonly clever fellow. Certain psychologists have told us that he is clever because he sits up, and examines things held in his front paws, but that seems a good deal like getting the "cart before the horse." A more reasonable explanation is that his natural intelligence prompts this trait—that it is a cause rather than an effect. The animals who practice it, just can't help doing so.

Strange Kin of the Calla

Though most people know the skunk-cabbage, by sight at least, probably few of them are aware that it is an own cousin, so to speak, of the glorious and immaculate "calla lilly," the beautiful child of very different surroundings. The true flowers of the calla are borne on its long yellow spike, guarded so carefully by its lovely white spathe, corresponding, botanically, to the purplish, Capuchin-like cowl, which caused the Riviera Italians to call it "Cappucini." Similarly, within the purplish hood of the American plant, on a spike-shaped growth, are borne the small, inconspicuous blossoms, with an odor like that of a skunk. Piercing the mould, around the cowl, come the bright green, sharply folded leaves, which afterward expand into wide-spreading ones, like those of a cabbage. Writing under date of October 31st, Thoreau, in his "Journal," counsels the melancholy-minded to visit the swamps, and "see the brave spears of the skunk cabbage buds, already advanced toward a new year;" and continuing to moralize, he observes:

Mortal and human creatures must take a little respite in this fall of the year. Their spirits do flag a little. There is a little questioning of destiny, and thinking to go like cowards to where the weary shall be at rest. But not so with the skunk-cabbage. Its withered leaves fall and are transfixed like a rising bud. Winter and death are ignored. The cycle of life is complete.

Mrs. William Starr Dana tells us in "How To Know the Wild Flowers" (p. 322), that Meehan said that the bears "greatly relish this early green" which "must have been a hot morsel, as the juice is acrid, and is said to possess some narcotic power, while that of its root, when chewed, caused the eyesight to grow dim."

THE NEW BOOKS

Fresh Studies of Lincoln

The Real Lincoln. By Jesse W. Weik. Houghton Mifflin Company. 322 pp. Ill.

With the annual recurrence of Lincoln Day (February 12th), it is natural that some account should be taken of the Lincoln books that have been published during the preceding year. In 1923 several substantial additions to the growing body of Lincoln literature have to be recorded. One of the most noteworthy of these is a volume by Jesse W. Weik, who many years ago collaborated with William H. Herndon, Lincoln's law partner at Springfield, in writing that "Life of Lincoln" which has long been accepted as a standard authority. After the publication of that work Mr. Weik received from the late Leonard Swett, of Chicago, another personal friend of Lincoln, several interesting suggestions towards a more complete rounding out of Lincoln's biography. It was Mr. Swett's belief that Herndon had not done full justice to the human side of Lincoln, the incidents of his home life, nor to his activities as a lawyer. Mr. Weik has devoted many years to careful research in the directions suggested by Mr. Swett. As a result, the present volume contains a great amount of new material concerning Lincoln's life at Springfield before his election to the Presidency—his relations to local affairs and the intimate friendships that he formed as a citizen and a leading member of the Illinois bar. Much of this material was no doubt so familiar to Lincoln's contemporaries that it did not occur to them to pass it on to posterity in the form of written or printed statements. For the later generations, however, a narration of these matters is indispensable to the complete story of Lincoln's life as he actually lived it.

Lincoln. By Nathaniel Wright Stephenson. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill. 474 pp. Ill.

Lincoln is one of those public characters whose personal record men must have in its fullness. In our time and no doubt in time to come it is Lincoln the man and not the President who captures the imagination. His was a personal dignity which the holding of high office could neither give nor take away. Professor Stephenson, who had already displayed unusual gifts as an historian in his book, "Abraham Lincoln and the Union," has now made a more detailed study of Lincoln's whole career, with a special attempt to show how his mind worked amid the crises of war. It is really a study of Lincoln's development. At many points it deals with matters concerning which the evidence has always conflicted, and sometimes is obscure and incomplete. It cannot be expected that the author's conclusions will be universally accepted, yet it is clear that he has made diligent search for the truth, and is as free from partisanship as human limitations permit. It is a well-written narrative and unhackneyed either in form or subject-matter.

Why Lincoln Laughed. By Russell H. Conwell. Harper & Brothers. 158 pp.

A Civil War soldier, who chatted with Lincoln about humor and the power and usefulness of laughter, makes in this little book his own modest contribution to our knowledge of the human Lincoln, who, he thinks, was in some mysterious degree superhuman. Dr. Conwell is one of the few survivors among those who knew Lincoln in the White House.

The Great War from Varied Viewpoints

A History of the Great War. By John Buchan. With an Introduction by Major-General J. G. Harbord. Houghton Mifflin Company. In four volumes. With maps and portraits.

It is quite conceivable that histories of the war written fifty years hence will be more valuable in some particulars than any work that can be produced today. Yet the historian who writes as a contemporary observer has certain undeniable advantages over one who lives in a future era. The coming historian of the Great War will never suffer from lack of documentary materials. The danger is that he will be unable to create for himself a proper perspective, and so fail to make the best use of the

documents that he has. Colonel Buchan was himself a sort of human document as regarded British participation in the war. In the early days on the Western Front he was a newspaper correspondent, and later served in the Intelligence Section of the British General Staff in France. As Director of Information, he was able to keep in touch with activities on all the Allied fronts during the last two years of the war. In its original form his work was written and published in parts during the years 1915-19, but the whole was revised and very largely re-written, and now appears in a set of four volumes. Great Britain's part in the conflict has been described more fully than that of the other participants, and readers on this side of the Atlantic may

feel that insufficient attention has been given to the work of the American Expeditionary Force. Yet the author pays generous tribute to the value of the American effort, and some of the facts which are lacking in the text of the work are supplied by General Harbord in an introduction. From the standpoint of the military student, General Harbord heartily commends the book as a whole. In vividness of style and narrative movement Colonel Buchan's history is all that could be desired.

Service With Fighting Men. Editorial Board: William Howard Taft, Chairman; Frederick Harris, Managing Editor; Frederic Houston Kent and William J. Newlin, Associate Editors. Association Press. Volume I: 636 pp. Volume II: 664 pp. With maps and illustrations.

At last we have in print the complete account of the work of the Young Men's Christian Associations in the World War. This account has of course existed for the past four years in the form of official reports and correspondence. It could not be expected, however, that any large part of the general public could gain from these documents anything like a clear or connected notion of what was actually done through this vast organization at the front and in the home camps during the months and years of fighting. It was essential that all this material should be combined into a single, continuous narrative. The activities that devolved on the Y. M. C. A. after America's entrance into the war were far broader than had ever before been contemplated by any nation at war. They covered the whole field of welfare work, and they were the means and agencies through which the American people demonstrated its practical interest in the comfort and well-being of its soldiers and sailors everywhere. Thus it is entirely fitting that a chapter of the present work should be devoted to a study of the principles, philosophy and problems of all welfare work. Other chapters naturally deal with the educational problem, the recreational program, women's work,

aid to war prisoners and the administration of funds. As preliminary to a fair understanding of the organization's war work, there is an excellent, brief survey of the chief military movements. Altogether, these two volumes supply a whole library of information about one of the most important phases of our war effort.

History of American Red Cross Nursing. By Lavinia L. Dock, Sarah Elizabeth Pickett, Clara D. Noyes, Fannie F. Clement, Elizabeth G. Fox, Anna R. Van Meter. Macmillan. 1,562 pp. Ill.

More than half of this thick volume is given over to the account of American Red Cross experiences in the World War. This is an intensely interesting story and closely parallels the Y. M. C. A. record, to which we have just alluded. But the Red Cross editorial committee has included within the scope of the work the beginnings and early growth of the organization in this country, and has devoted several chapters to Red Cross work since the war—international nursing education, public health nursing, class instruction for women and the dietitian service. This is by far the most comprehensive work in its field, and is the only official history.

Fondation D'Europe: 1916-1920. By H. M. Barzun. Paris: Atlas University. Volume I: 295 pp. Volume II: 310 pp.

In these volumes M. Barzun, who since the war has contributed several articles to this REVIEW, sets forth his conception of Pan-Europeanism as opposed to imperialistic nationalism. M. Barzun is a French journalist who has made it his business to interview hundreds of Europe's statesmen and men of affairs. He has found throughout Europe a general uprising of the intellectual and industrial elements of society against the policies and ideals that ruled before the Great War. His book communicates this new democratic spirit.

The Spirit of Government and Finance

American Individualism. By Herbert Hoover. Doubleday, Page & Company. 72 pp.

Mr. Hoover's conception of American individualism is that of Abraham Lincoln—equality of opportunity. This is as far as possible removed from the old *laissez faire* ideal of the eighteenth century—"every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost." Mr. Hoover believes that in our national history we have learned that "the foremost are not always the best, nor the hindmost the worst," and that social injustice is the destruction of justice itself. In the twentieth century we believe in a greater and broader responsibility to others as a part of individualism. In this booklet Mr. Hoover discusses the subject under the heads of "Philosophic Grounds," "Spiritual Phases," "Economic Phases" and "Political Phases."

We and Our Government. By Jeremiah Whipple Jenks and Rufus Daniel Smith. Donald F.

Stewart, Editor. The American Viewpoint Society (Boni and Liveright). 223 pp. Ill.

A unique picture-book of contemporary American life. There are over 500 illustrations, each one of which bears a caption that relates it to the main theme of the book. The connected story is told in the text, which has been read and approved by an advisory board composed of leading educators.

Introduction to American Government. By Frederic A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray. The Century Company. 841 pp.

This book offers a critical survey of our national, State and local governments. It is unusual to find all three topics so fully developed in a single volume. The authors explain in the preface that the person for whom the book is primarily designed is the college student who finds himself enrolled in a general course in American government and politics in

perhaps his sophomore year. With his needs particularly in mind, the authors have incorporated in the first seven chapters a survey of the nature and problems of government in general. In proceeding with an account of government in the United States the purpose of the work is to stimulate constructive, discriminating criticism of existing institutions. Throughout the work principles are emphasized rather than structural details.

The Essentials of American Government. By Francis Newton Thorpe. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 190 pp.

A clear and concise outline of principles, which might well be used as a text-book in college classes, to be supplemented with lectures giving detailed information on special topics.

The Law of City Planning and Zoning. By Frank Backus Williams. Macmillan. 738 pp.

This book is indeed a revelation of the rapid advance of city-planning as a principle of municipal administration and also of the vast body of literature that has grown up in this field during recent years. Mr. Williams has not confined himself to the strictly legal aspects of the subject. His book appears under the auspices of the Institute for Research in Land Economics, headed by Professor Richard T. Ely, and is one of a series of valuable contributions which that Institute is making to American sociology.

Income in the United States: 1909-1919. By The Staff of the National Bureau of Economic Research, Incorporated. Harcourt, Brace and Company. Volume I: 152 pp.

A small book on a subject of great importance and long involved in controversy. The size of the

volume, however, is no criterion of the value of the contents. The amount of research required to produce the data set forth in this little book must have been enormous. The investigators who secured and sifted the data are Dr. Wesley C. Mitchell, Wilford I. King, Frederick R. Macaulay, and Oswald W. Knauth. They find that not only the national income but also the per capita income is much larger in the United States than in any other country and that the net effect of our participation in the war was to diminish somewhat (at least temporarily) the inequality in the distribution of American incomes.

Our Eleven Billion Dollars. By Robert Mountsier. Thomas Seltzer. 149 pp.

Apropos of current discussions about Europe's debt to the United States, this timely book by an American correspondent, who has made many business trips to Europe during the last twelve years, deserves special attention. The concluding chapter is a plea for a world economic conference at Washington.

French Public Finance: In the Great War and To-day. By Harvey E. Fisk. Bankers Trust Company. 363 pp.

Americans are more interested to-day than ever before in knowing how France financed her war expenditures and how she is now meeting the financial problems of reconstruction. This book, published by the Bankers Trust Company, of New York, may be regarded as authoritative in every sense. Not only were the data obtained from official sources, but the greater part of the book itself was submitted in proof form to several of the leading financial and economic authorities in France. The publishers, indeed, made every effort to obtain accuracy in the text as well as in the statistical tables.

Problems of Society

The Mind in the Making. By James Harvey Robinson. Harper & Brothers. 235 pp.

One of the books which last year found a surprisingly large number of readers was this volume in which Dr. James Harvey Robinson sought to point out the relation of intelligence to social reform. For the greater part of his life Dr. Robinson had been a student of human history. Therefore, his approach to the subject under consideration was somewhat different from that of the psychologist. He has some searching paragraphs on our civilization and its limitations and appreciative chapters on the scientific revolution and the changes wrought by scientific knowledge in the conditions of life. At many points Dr. Robinson's essay suggests the possibilities of further expansion, and it is to be hoped that he himself will develop his theme more fully in a subsequent volume.

Our Medicine Men. By Paul H. De Kruif. The Century Company. 237 pp.

The author of this book, a bacteriologist who has

long worked in collaboration with the medical profession, analyzes what he terms "the dignity, pomp and absurd pretension to science of our medicine men." He contrasts the old-time, general practitioner with the specialist of to-day, to the great disadvantage of the latter.

The Law and Its Sorrows. By J. Hannibal Clancey. Detroit: The Bentham Institute. 317 pp.

Mr. Clancey is a radical reformer of his own profession. He would abolish pleadings, and would deny to judges the power of declaring legislation unconstitutional. In the first part of his book he describes the pitfalls of the law as it is now practiced. In the second part he presents a group of cases intended to serve as object lessons, and explains how the defects complained of work out in real life. The book will undoubtedly interest many lawyers, but the author hopes to enlist the support of the laity also in his crusade. Apparently it is not to his own profession that the author looks for his most substantial backing.

Constantinople To-day, or The Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople. Under the Direction of Clarence Richard Johnson. Macmillan. 418 pp. Ill.

At last Constantinople, like Pittsburgh and many another town of the Occident, has been submitted to a survey of social and economic conditions. The publication of the results of that survey communicates the first detailed study in the social life of the Orient on a similar scale. In a foreword President Gates, of Robert College, says that Constantinople is wholly without a civic consciousness. "Since the time of the Mohammedan conquest the life of the city has been divided into communities, each having a life of its own independent of the others' and sometimes hostile one to another." Professor Johnson, who holds the chair of Sociology

in Robert College, directed the survey, in which eight organizations cooperated. The volume is illustrated, and carries valuable maps and charts.

Our Boys. By Howard G. Burdge. State of New York Military Training Commission, Bureau of Vocational Training. 345 pp. Ill.

The New York State Military Training Commission has performed a public service of no mean order in publishing a study of 245,000 boys between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, by Howard G. Burdge. These boys are all employed in some capacity in the State of New York. The survey conducted by Mr. Burdge resulted in the securing of more facts concerning the social and industrial environment of boys of this age than have ever before been officially obtained.

Recent Biography

Samuel Train Dutton. By Charles H. Levermore. Macmillan. 280 pp. Ill.

Before coming to New York, the late Dr. Samuel T. Dutton had been for many years the successful head of city school systems and had a national reputation as an educationist. From 1900 until his death in 1919 Dr. Dutton was connected with the Teachers College of Columbia University. But during the latter years of his life he became identified more and more significantly with international affairs, particularly with the peace movement and with philanthropic work in the Near East. Dr. Levermore describes the pioneer educational work of his friend and co-worker and in the latter portion of the book emphasizes Dr. Dutton's belief in internationalism and quotes some of his inspiring utterances.

John Bascom, Prophet. By Sanford Robinson. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 53 pp.

The name of Professor John Bascom is closely associated with Williams College and the University of Wisconsin. In the two institutions, during periods of many years, he influenced hundreds of young minds. Mr. Sanford Robinson, himself a Williams graduate, offers this modest little book as an estimate of one phase of John Bascom's life and work. More than forty years ago, Dr. Bascom

had an important part in the discussions then in vogue concerning the relations between science and religion. With good reason, Mr. Robinson hails Dr. Bascom's utterances as those of a prophet.

David Lubin: a Study in Practical Idealism. By Olivia Rosetti Agresti. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 372 pp.

How the Sacramento merchant, David Lubin, became the founder of the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome is the story told in this book. Lubin was an idealist who was aided toward the practical attainment of his ideals by another idealist of our time, King Victor Emmanuel, of Italy.

John Ruskin's Letters to William Ward. With a short biography of William Ward, by William C. Ward and an introduction by Alfred Mansfield Brooks. Boston: Marshall Jones Company. 176 pp.

William Ward was a beloved pupil of Ruskin, to whom the master freely communicated his reflections and opinions for many years. The first of the letters printed in this volume is dated 1855, and the last 1886. Besides touching upon economic and social questions, the letters have many suggestions for the craft, from a master of line and color.

Manuals for Writers

Everyday Uses of English. By Maurice H. Weseen. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 447 pp.

A sign of the times may be discerned in the fact that a university professor of English does not now find it necessary to defend or apologize for a utilitarian attitude toward the study of the mother tongue. In this volume Dr. Weseen frankly considers the English language as "an everyday tool." He discusses the principles of English composition

chiefly to show how they are applied to the problems of daily life. About half the book is devoted to business letters and reports. Then follow useful chapters on "A Profitable Study of Words," "Learning to Spell," "The Construction of Sentences," "Practical Punctuation," "How to Prepare a Manuscript," and "Paragraph Writing." An appendix contains suggestive problems and exercises. All in all, this is an exceedingly practical treatise to come from a man holding a university chair.

A College Handbook of Writing. By George Benjamin Woods. Doubleday, Page & Co. 404 pp.

Dr. Woods, who has the chair of English at Carleton College, has written an elementary guide for use in college classes in composition. There is no reason, however, why the book should not be found helpful to all persons who wish to improve or perfect their use of English, and as a reference work it may be used to advantage by both student and teacher.

The Newspaperman. By Talcott Williams. Charles Scribner's Sons. 209 pp.

In the "Vocational Series" Dr. Talcott Williams describes the career of "The Newspaperman" (not the "journalist"). Writing out of his own observation and experience for more than forty

years, Dr. Williams outlines the opportunities of the successful newspaperman, tells what kind of personal equipment is required, what rewards may be expected, and defines the newspaper writer's task both in theory and practice. Dr. Williams is well qualified to discuss both the advantages and the limitations of the profession.

The Advertising Man. By Earnest Elmo Calkins. Charles Scribner's Sons. 205 pp.

A member of a leading New York advertising firm here gives a clear-cut estimate of what is demanded of the advertising man to-day and what his opportunities are. This is another volume in the "Vocational Series" which was designed to set forth for the benefit of the young man or woman considering the choice of a life work the pros and cons of each calling.

Other Current Publications

Annals of Music in America. By Henry C. Lahee. Boston: Marshall Jones Company. 298 pp.

An extraordinary amount of information about the development of music in America is compressed within the covers of this book. Indeed, when we realize that the author is giving a chronological record of musical events in this country from 1640 to the present day, our wonder grows that so much could be told in so moderate a compass. So far as we are aware, this is the first attempt to record American musical history in this way. The bare list of events in itself requires a large proportion of the space, but the author has added his own comments on the various periods into which the history of music in America is divided.

My Life of Song. By Madame Tetrassini. Philadelphia: Dorance & Company. 326 pp. Ill.

Enrico Caruso: a Biography. By Pierre V. R. Key. In Collaboration with Bruno Zirato. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 455 pp. Ill.

A Book about Myself. By Theodore Dreiser. Boni and Liveright. 502 pp.

What Is Socialism? By James Edward Le Rossignol. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 267 pp.

Pieces of Hate. By Heywood Brown. George H. Doran Company. 227 pp.

Shall It Be Again? By John Kenneth Turner. B. W. Huebsch. 448 pp.

The Industrial Revival in Soviet Russia. By A. A. Heller. With an Introduction by Charles P. Steinmetz. Thomas Seltzer. 241 pp.

After the Peace. By Henry Noel Brailsford. Thomas Seltzer. 158 pp.

The History of Public Poor Relief in Massachusetts: 1620-1920. By Robert W. Kelso. Houghton Mifflin Company. 200 pp.

The Story of Utopias. By Lewis Mumford. With an Introduction by Hendrik Willem Van Loon. Boni and Liveright. 311 pp.

The Leadership of Congress. By George Rothwell Brown. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 310 pp.

America Faces the Future. By Durant Drake. Macmillan. 339 pp.

De América y De España: Problemas y Orientaciones (De 1920 a 1922). By Rafael Hernández-Usara. Prologue by the Conde de Romanones. Madrid: Librería y Editorial Rivadeneyra. 196 pp.

Definitions. By Henry Seidel Canby. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 303 pp.

The Critical Game. By John Macy. Boni and Liveright. 335 pp.

Contemporary One-Act Plays of 1921 (American). Selected and Edited by Frank Shay. Cincinnati: Stewart Kidd Company. 630 pp.

When Winter Comes to Main Street. By Grant Overton. George H. Doran Company. 384 pp.

Timothy Tubby's Journal. With drawings by Herb Roth. George H. Doran Company. 272 pp.

Confessions of an Old Priest. By S. D. McConnell. Macmillan. 124 pp.

Electricity. By Sydney G. Starling. Longmans, Green and Company. 245 pp. Ill.

In the series entitled "Science in the Service of Man" this volume on Electricity brings our knowledge well up to date, including chapters on gases and X-rays and radioactivity. The book is addressed to the general reader, and the treatment is, as far as possible, non-technical.